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DECEMBER 9TH, 1879.

E. BURNET TYLOR, Esq., F.R.S., *President, in the Chair.*

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The following list of presents were announced, and thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors:—

FOR THE LIBRARY.

- From the EDITOR.—*Revue Internationale* No. 11.
From the ACADEMY.—*Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale de St. Petersburg.*
From the SOCIETY.—*Journal of the Society of Arts*, Nos. 1410 and 1411.
From the EDITOR.—“*Nature*,” Nos. 526 and 527.
From the EDITOR.—“*Athenæum*,” No. 623, Nov. 1879.
From the EDITOR.—*Revue Scientifique*, Nos. 22 and 23.
From the SOCIETY.—*Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, Vol. I. No. 12.
From the SOCIETY.—*Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, April and July 1879.
From the UNIVERSITY.—*Memoirs of the Science Department, University of Tokio, Japan*. Vol. I, Part 1. By Edward S. Moore.

THE PRESIDENT made the following remarks before reading extracts from a letter on the subject of Australian Marriage Laws :—

This communication, addressed to me by the Rev. Lorimer Fison, and dated Levuka, Fiji, August 17th, 1879, is of interest to Anthropologists as tending to clear up a problem which has somewhat perplexed them since the publication of Mr. L. H. Morgan's important work, "*Ancient Society*." At p. 54, on the strength of observations by Mr. Lance communicated by Mr. Fison, Mr. Morgan brings forward the Australians as presenting in their social system a remarkable approach to promiscuity. The class marriage system of Australia, under which a man of a particular class may only take a wife of a particular class, has long been well known; indeed, one variety of it is described by Mr. Forrest, the explorer, in his letter, from which extracts will follow this. Thus among the Kamilaroi, it is well understood that a man of the class Kubbi can only marry a woman of the class Ippata. But Mr. Morgan considered it to be part of the system that every Kubbi is husband to every Ippata, having a recognised right to treat as his wife any woman belonging to this class whom he might meet, and so with the other classes, there being four male and four female classes. In his words "one quarter of all the males are united in marriage with one quarter of all the females of the Kamilaroi tribes." As, however, it seemed to me that such a social system would scarcely hold together, and that probably the information on which it was asserted might prove to bear a less extreme interpretation, I took an opportunity of inquiring by letter of Mr. Fison, as to the latest information on the subject. It will appear from his reply that the native marriage system, though lax, is in fact confined within manageable limits. Mr. Fison's letter, which contains also interesting information on collateral points, runs as follows :—

"With reference to the point mentioned in your letter as to 'marriage between whole male and female classes,' I may say that the information given to me by Mr. Lance has been confirmed by not a few other competent observers. Mr. Morgan, however, seems in his '*Ancient Society*,' to treat that fact as showing actual present-day marriage of that kind, whereas present usage in Australia as elsewhere is considerably in advance of ancient rule. But this fact remains. We have

traced the classes from the extreme west (N.W. Cape) to the extreme south (Mount Gambier) through New South Wales and Queensland up to Port Darwin in the north, and turning aside to a Telegraph Station almost in the centre of the continent. Nearly everywhere among those tribes* the classes have the same arrangements, though the words used to designate them are widely different, and *a man of any class is admitted to the marital privileges of his class in any tribe other than his own*, that is, if the other tribe be one of those which have a like organisation. Thus, say that A and B are two intermarrying classes. Then, if a Kamilaroi native from the Darling River, belonging to class A, visited a tribe at Port Darwin, he would be provided with a woman from class B in that tribe, as his temporary wife. In the gesture language of the aborigines there is 'a peculiar folding of the hands,' which denotes a request for, or an offer of, this right, as the case may be. This I give on Howitt's own authority. You are doubtless aware that he is a well known Australian explorer, and has seen much of the wild tribes.

"The classes being thus spread over the continent, and the marital rights of A being acknowledged and granted without respect to locality, it seems probable that the various tribes are the result of the expansion of one tribe whose old regulations they have kept up. It seems to me that among savages of the Australian type we have to keep fast hold of the fact that there is no such thing as personal individuality, if I may so speak. The class is the individual. It is married to another class. Its child is the whole class resulting from that marriage, and is the successor of its mother's, not its father's, class. That seems to me the fundamental idea. But usage gradually departs from the old rule, and when we get to descent in the male line the progress is very rapid. This is saying very much in a very few words, and taking many things for granted. I cannot write at length now, because being away from home, I have not access to my notes.

"I may, however, note the following facts bearing upon the point mentioned by you. 1. The right of a class irrespective of tribal locality. 2. The fact that what appeared to Eyre to be promiscuous intercourse is strictly regulated by the class rules. 3. A warrior taking a woman in war, or stealing a woman from another tribe, cannot have her to wife if she be of a class prohibited to him. 4. In the Kuruai tribe (which is an extremely interesting exception to the ordinary class-tribe, to use a short term) marriage, as a general rule, cannot be effected

* We have found other tribes not having the Kamilaroi class arrangement. Of these more by-and-by.

otherwise than by elopement. But the man must give previous notice to those males who are his *pares* (I do not know how otherwise to designate them without going into a long explanation) and they must meet the woman in the bush and use her as their wife, before he can elope with her.

"I may also add that the *privilege of Ipai*, noted by you in your work on 'Early Institutions,' does not *upset the entire arrangement*, as it appeared to you to do. This, if I remember rightly, is your view of it. It simply permits the marriage of Ipai with some, though not with all, of his paternal half-sisters. I think it is only a local infringement of the class-rule. It never sanctions marriage with the uterine half-sister. When Mr. Lance brought it under my notice, I pointed out its importance to my friend Mr. Ridley, as showing the probability of subdivisions of the classes distinguished by totems. Mr. Ridley was soon afterwards commissioned by the Government at the instance of Professor Max Müller to make certain philological inquiries among the tribes with which he was acquainted. I went to his house, and drew up a memorandum on the subject for him to take with him, suggesting what the probable marriage arrangements would be found to be. He made the inquiry, and found that not Ipai only, but all the other classes of males also in that tribe, or those tribes, had the same privileges, and that the regulations were based on totemic subdivisions."

The following extracts, also relating to Australian marriage laws, were read from a letter addressed to Sir Charles Nicholson, Bart., by Mr. John Forrest, Acting Surveyor-General of West Australia:—

"Perth, West Australia, September 7th, 1879. . . . I take the opportunity of forwarding a few notes, taken down by me last year when on the north-west coast, near Nichol Bay. The facts I am about to give can be thoroughly relied on and are well understood in the country by all the natives. They are as follows:—

"There are four families, viz., 'Boorongnoo,' 'Banigher,' 'Kimera' and 'Paljarie.' The two former may intermarry, as also the two latter, but no other alliance is allowable.

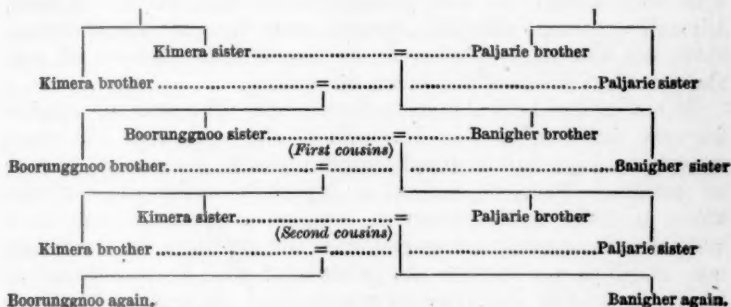
	Offspring.
Boorongnoo (male) ..	} Kimera.
Banigher (female) ..	
Banigher (male) ..	} Paljarie.
Boorongnoo (female) ..	
Kimera (male) ..	} Boorongnoo.
Paljarie (female) ..	
Paljarie (male) ..	} Banigher.
Kimera (female) ..	

"But as among the natives the Kimera and Paljarie are said to be the parent stock, I have supposed it to have been as follows :—

"In the beginning there were four persons, viz., a brother and sister of the Kimera family, and a brother and sister of the Paljarie family. They intermarried, the Kimera man taking the sister of the Paljarei man, and giving his sister to the Paljarie man. We will suppose that these two marriages produced each a boy and a girl.

"The Kimera man and Paljarie woman would produce Boorunggnoo,' and the Paljarie man and Kimera woman would produce 'Banigher.' These would be first cousins, and on their marrying, their offspring would be second cousins, and so on, so that the longer the period elapsing from their commencement, the more distant would be the relationship.

"I have not studied the subject much farther, but will also attach a diagram, showing what I mean, and I should be very willing to give any further information on the subject that might be required.



"I shall be glad if you will use this information in any way you please, and I hope it may interest some of your friends. If it is only examined casually, it will be at once noted how singular and fixed is the law, and it would seem as if it had a wise object, and that it is not mere chance. To see such well defined rules amongst a barbarous and illiterate people is to me a great subject for reflection."

The following paper was read—

SAVAGE and CIVILIZED WARFARE.

By J. A. FARRER, Esq.

NOTHING perhaps is more characteristic of the wide difference between savagery and civilization than the fact that the one chooses the past and the other the future as the playground for its dreams of a happier condition of humanity. The one believes in the lapse, the other in the progress, of mankind. There is evidently all the practical difference in the world between these two modes of regarding history. The Hervey Islander, for instance, who has his fanciful myth of the golden age when wars were not, and of the train of sad events that first brought them upon earth, is not thereby led to the idea of contributing by his own efforts to the restoration of peace upon earth, but is rather disposed to accept a state of warfare as part of the unalterable miseries of existence. But the civilized man who sees before and not behind him the light of better days, himself unconsciously aids, by the mere fact of his historical faith, in the accomplishment of the end he dreams of, and hastens the advent of the future he desires.

It is a melancholy reflection that in this difference of regarding the problem of war, lies almost the only real difference between savage and civilized communities in the general matter of warfare. There is, indeed, a superficial difference between them in their tactics, weapons, usages; a civilized army does not actually worship a war-god, does not mutilate its dead foes, nor sacrifice nor torture its prisoners; and it sometimes, or generally, spares the lives of women and children. But there is no such difference as to make the expression *civilized warfare* other than the most flagrant contradiction of terms—a contradiction which frequently leads to the strangest possible distortion of moral ideas, as, for instance, in that very prevalent confusion of thought, which can see no harm in sticking a man with a bayonet, but the utmost barbarity in doing so with an assegai, which would teach us indeed to refrain from mutilating the dead whilst inculcating no scruples as to what extent we mutilate the living. There may be, and of course are, degrees in the savagery and cruelty of warfare; but warfare can no more be civilized than a circle can be a square, or a cold thing hot. Indeed, warfare is all the worse which claims to be civilized, or as Mr. Bancroft has well said, "War is a barbarism which civilization only intensifies."

There exists in the world a popular form of sophistry which

seeks to free certain phenomena from the reproach of being evil by showing that they may lead or have led to good results, thereby as hopelessly confusing means and ends as if it were contended that pain, undergone for health's sake, were not in itself evil *quâ* pain, or that a theft could be morally good which was intended for a charitable object. Without applying this theory to the subject of war, it is nevertheless obvious that civilization has owed so much to war, that it even seems as if, without the one, the other might have been unattainable. From the necessity of combination for purposes of offence or defence arose the social capacity for community of life and action generally; and whatever there is in the world of complex political association, or of wide areas of political union within which culture may peaceably advance, owes its existence to the pressure of constant hostile relations. It is upon a military model that social order everywhere has been gradually organized, with its political and ecclesiastical hierarchies, its powers within powers, its ranks under ranks, its concentration of authority; and Mr. Herbert Spencer has drawn a most instructive parallel, showing how the form of government of any people varies with, or even depends on, its military character, and how, whilst the tendency of war is towards despotism in government, the tendency of peace is towards liberty. Among people like the Esquimaux, who are said not even to know what war means, political chieftainship appears in its most rudimentary type; whilst in the civilized world a war-seeking policy leads surely and swiftly to growth of despotism at home.

Connected with the subject of war in savage life, it is interesting to trace briefly the effect of military necessities on the political and religious development of savage races. Politically, their effect seems uniformly to have taken the direction of tightening the reins of government and of widening the distinctions between classes. There is no condition of things under which men's different qualities of courage and cunning tend more constantly to become prominent, and to produce and perpetuate more strongly-pronounced inequalities, than the hostile relations in which savage communities so frequently stand to one another. In this fighting state, which is not necessarily, be it said, to be assumed as the primitive or natural state of mankind, the social privileges accorded to superior courage are those naturally exacted by superior might; and it is conceivable that the general right of inheritance had its origin in the once exorbitant claims of savage captains in war. Among many savages, even of no advanced type, military leadership is hereditary, if not on the eldest son then on some other son or relation of a deceased warrior; it is seldom purely elective, or

allotted to personal merit. It would be difficult to understand this tendency among savages to create hereditary honours or functions, were it not for the close connection that exists in savage life between war and sorcery, the warrior and the magician, and the consequent readiness to deify a great conqueror, even to the clothing of his nearest of kin with attributes of divinity. Given a great warrior and sorcerer, like their ancestor whom the Namaqua Hottentots worship as divine, and the idea becomes intelligible, that for any one save his own son or brother to succeed to his possessions or his power would constitute the deepest profanity to his memory, the grossest violation of respect towards the deceased, and one within his power to avenge from his vigilant survival in the spirit-world. The gradual extension of such a feeling from military to civil life would be but another illustration of the tendency of conceptions of military origin to pass into power over the whole range of human action and thought.

The same tendency again to deify warriors or their relations, causes similar lines of demarcation to arise between a warrior and non-warrior class, raising the former immeasurably above the latter, and conferring upon it attributes which contribute strongly to the preservation of social distinctions, and to the maintenance of a hierarchy of classes or castes. The feeling in Greece that a commercial life as compared with a political or military one was base and ignoble, and the prejudice still existent in England in favour of a profession whose object is manslaughter, is the same feeling which in the Tongan Islands kept the Mooas and Tooas in contented subjection and subordination to the higher classes, the priests and nobles. It is beyond doubt that civilization has been indebted to such a condition of things; for the division of society into classes implies a division of labour, and from a division of labour arises the best or only possibility of new arts and inventions. It is precisely where a pacific life is possible or preferred, that not only is the political structure of the simplest and loosest kind, but the material development is of the lowest description.

If we inquire next what influence war has had on the religious advancement of savages, it will appear that there again it has been very considerable, in giving shape and consistency to men's ideas of the supernatural. The theology scarcely exists in the world, wherein the relation between the worshipper and his deity is not formed on the analogy of the relationship that connects the subject with his conqueror, or a lower with a higher caste. Hence it is that primitive theology is not only anthropomorphic, but anthropomorphic on a bellicose model. The chief god becomes the god of battles, the conqueror of other

peoples' gods, as in Israel; the terrible war-god, as in ancient Mexico. The homage due to him therefore finds its exemplar ready to hand in the homage paid to earthly potentates; and the conceptions of him, of his attributes and wishes, are precisely those entertained of human warriors and illustrious heroes. If a human monarch receives, and is gratified by tributes of oxen, fruit, or slaves, similar tributes or sacrifices will be paid, as they are all over the world, to the gods; cattle and men being slain to do them honour, or, more usually, to procure their favour. If, as in Turkey to this day, the burning of incense be a recognised mode of showing reverence to a superior, such an act of homage will be naturally transferred to the worship of the gods; and we actually find it so not only in the pipe of the Red Indian, but in the practice of every church and chapel of Catholic Christendom. The prevalence of the ideas of sacrifice and incense in the highest religion of the world sufficiently indicates the extent to which religion among the lower races is likely to be formulated in accordance with the principles of military dominion; and if, in the formation of political society, some benefit may be ascribed to the action of war, it is difficult to name a single benefit that has accrued to the world from this close and constant association between military and religious ideas.

The religion of the Khonds of Orissa may be taken as a fair illustration of the pernicious influence exercised by a military life upon all the virtues associated with the higher claims of morality—those, namely, of humanity and goodwill to a neighbouring community. The conception of the Deity as the arbiter or even the cause of war, is carried by the Khonds to a degree which, if pardonable in their condition, is certainly none the more pleasing. Wars they never consider to be their own act or their own fault; they are always the act and will of their war-god, Loha Pennu. Every village has a grove sacred to Loha Pennu, and whenever fevers or tigers rage or ravage it is accepted as a hint from Loha Pennu that his service has been too long neglected. The extent to which they carry this theory of the divine origin of war is well seen in part of the prayer they use when peace is restored: "Loha Pennu said to himself, Let there be war, and he forthwith entered into all weapons, so that from instruments of peace they became weapons of war; he gave edge to the axe, and point to the arrow; he entered into all kinds of food and drink, so that men in eating and drinking were filled with rage, and women became instruments of discord instead of soothers of anger." This is an admirable way of disposing of those conscientious scruples about the justice or injustice of a war which sometimes trouble more

advanced communities; nor would the terms of the following prayer to Loha Pennu before a war find so open an expression in the martial utterances of any Christian power:—"Let our axes," prays the Khond, "crush cloth and bones as the jaws of the hyæna crush its prey. Make the wounds we give to gape. . . When the wounds of our enemies heal, let lameness remain. Let their stones and arrows fall on us as softly as the flowers of the mowa-tree fall in the wind. . . Make their weapons brittle as the long pods of the karta-tree."

This is of course all savage enough, but even the Khonds esteem peace above war, and conduct war under certain laws. As war is the god's concern, not theirs, so it is with peace; and the ceremonies are somewhat elaborate on either side when it is desired to know whether peace has become the command of the war-god. If it has, the joy of the peace dance which lasts three days, "is regarded as the very highest attainable on earth." Before a war begins, it is necessary, previous to an attack, to allow the enemy time to complete the same fetichistic ceremony as the offensive tribe performs itself. As their own priest goes to the enemy's land to cut from it a branch of a tree which is afterwards dressed in clothes and armour to personate one of the hostile force, and thrown down at the shrine of the war-god in silent appeal for his co-operation in the coming struggle, so sufficient time must be allowed to the enemy for the performance of a similar ceremony.

Even this custom, elementary as it is as a law of war, in regulation and restraint of it, is an advance on the merely predatory mode of warfare, such as that in vogue among the Ahts, where no notice nor declaration of war is made, but one tribe falls on another with no more warning than would be considered obligatory by a pack of wolves. It is interesting to note the presence of such laws of war among the lower races, because it is generally assumed that they are only the product of an advanced civilization, only the glory of a so-called civilized warfare. The Caffres consider it shameful to attack their enemy without a declaration of war, and when war has broken out they refrain from seeking to starve him out; they spare the lives of women and children, and restore them after the war. The Canarians, according to an old Spanish writer, "held it as base and mean to molest or injure the women and children of the enemy, considering them as weak and helpless, therefore improper objects of their resentment; neither did they throw down or damage houses of worship." Respect towards the weaker sex in war is also asserted of the Winnebagoes and of the Sioux Indians, and in Samoan warfare it is considered cowardly to kill a woman. But the case of the wild Abipones

is perhaps the most remarkable in this respect, on account of the general savagery of their lives. Yet Dobritzhofer assures us that not only did they think it unworthy of them to mangle the bodies of dead Spaniards, as other savages did, but that they generally spared the unwarlike, and carried away innocent boys and girls unhurt. The Spaniards, Indians, Negroes, and Mulattoes, he says, taken by them in war, they did not use like captives, but treated with kindness and indulgence, almost like children. Many displayed the tenderest compassion and confidence towards their prisoners, nor did Dobritzhofer ever see a single captive so much as punished by a word or a blow.

There are other instances in savage life of the recognition of certain laws of war. The Fijians who were addicted to torturing their prisoners would yet spare the fruit-trees of their enemy, unless his obduracy greatly prolonged the war. In olden Virginia it was customary before a war to send a message to the hostile force, to the effect that in the event of their defeat, all who submitted within two days should live. The Tongans held it as sacrilege to fight within the precincts of the burial places of their chiefs; and the greatest enemies must perforce meet there as friends, under penalty of being visited with premature death. They also observed a curious custom, consequent on the obligation of everyone to fight on the side of that chief on whose island they might chance to be at the time when war was declared, by which a brief armistice was always allowed, to enable each party to take farewell of those friends and relations on the other side with whom they were so shortly to engage in deadly combat.

The inviolability of ambassadors, the observance of treaties and truces, resort to mediation for peace, are far from being unknown in the warfare of races whose knowledge of strategy and tactics is of course not on a level with the European standard. It is, for example, through the mediation of a friendly tribe that the Khonds seek to obtain peace with their enemies. But proposals for peace are perhaps more commonly sent by ambassadors, who bear some recognised emblem of the nature of their mission—a whale's tooth in the Fiji Islands, a young plantain tree or a green branch of the ti plant in the Sandwich. All the tribes that Catlin visited in North America held a white flag of skin or bark as the inviolable symbol of a truce; and even the Shoshones of California, who kill their prisoners of war, especially women, with cruel tortures, observe the common Indian custom of ratifying the conclusion of hostilities by the pipe of peace.

The greatest pains are often taken to impress the terms and the treaty of peace most vividly on the memory of the con-

tracting parties by striking and intelligible ceremonies. In the Fiji Islands hostilities were closed by a meeting of the two combatant forces, at which they threw down their arms at one another's feet. On the Hervey Islands the breaking of a number of spears by the warrior chief against a large chestnut tree with great formality was the token of the cessation of war; the almost imperishable coral tree was planted in the valleys to signify the hope that as the tree was, so might the peace be; and after the drum of peace had been solemnly beaten round the island, it was unlawful for any man to carry any weapon, or to cut down any iron-wood, which was capable of being turned into an instrument of destruction. The chief symbol of peace on the Sandwich Islands was a wreath, woven conjointly by the leading chiefs of either side, and placed in one of their temples.

In a similar way the Tahitians made a wreath of green boughs, furnished by each side, and also made a band of cloth together, depositing both the band and the wreath in the temple, and invoking dire imprecations on the first side that should violate the peace and forget the reconciliation.

It is of obvious practical importance to notice these traces among savages of moral restraints in the exercise of war. To a country that is never long without one of the so-called "little wars" on its hands, it is necessary to have some general ideas as to how far savage tribes are capable of any other restraint, save that of superior might, in political dealings with their neighbours; how far any sense of right or wrong is likely to enter into their consideration of the policy of a war on any given occasion; how far they are capable of understanding or of regarding the sanctity of covenants and treaties.

It is said that the Indians of North America very honestly kept their treaties with the English, till they were taught by the French to adopt looser principles.

And it is probable that the late Zulu war would never have occurred had it been possible for a Christian Commissioner to believe that a heathen nation could do such a thing as keep its word, refraining from invasion or attack so long as it was not invaded or attacked itself, by reason of its confidence in the strict observation by either side of a solemn agreement made between itself and its neighbour. War might have been averted had there not been a slowness to believe that overtures for a peace by a savage could be intended as aught else than a military *ruse* or could be expressed in any other language than the diplomatic forms of European warfare.

The civilizing pretext, by which it is so often sought to lull the moral sensibilities of a country, suggests the interest which would attach to an inquiry, how far similar wars have had

beneficial effects in the abolition of barbarous customs or in the engraftment of more refined manners on a conquered savage race. The Peruvians, who were constantly engaged in wars with savage tribes on their borders, before beginning their war would call upon their enemy not only to adopt the Religion of the Sun, but to put an end to their cannibalism, their human sacrifices, and their other vices. But it was not so much by force as by the contagion of example that they chiefly sought to spread civilization. Says Prescott of them: "They sought to soften the hearts of the rude tribes around them, and melt them by acts of condescension and kindness. Far from provoking hostilities, they allowed time for the salutary example of their own institutions to work its effect, trusting that their less civilized neighbours would submit to their sceptre, from a conviction of the blessings it would secure to them." They employed negotiation, conciliatory treatment, and presents to leading men among the tribes; and if all these failed, then they resorted to war, but to war which at every stage was readily open to propositions of peace, and in which any unnecessary outrage on the persons or property of their enemy was punished with death. It is undeniable that culture has been promoted by war in many instances, though it is probable that peaceful efforts, those of missionaries, for example, have done as much or even more. Strabo says that the Bactrians had a custom of giving their fathers, if they outlived their faculties, to their dogs, and that Alexander the Great when he conquered them prohibited the practice. The grandest treaty of peace recorded in history was, Montesquieu thinks, that which Gelo, an ancient king of Syracuse, made with the Carthaginians. For when he had defeated 300,000 of them, he required of them, as a condition of peace, a condition which was of advantage chiefly or only to themselves—namely, that they should cease to sacrifice their children to their gods. But for the reason that it is easier to make such conditions than to secure their permanent observance, there can be no pretext for a war less satisfactory than zeal in print or peace-conditions for the improvement of humanity.

Titles of honour, both in savage and civilized life, are among the favourite devices of the god of war for the maintenance of his worship. The king of France, says Montesquieu in one of his Persian Letters, has been known to carry on great wars with the help of no other fund than the sale of titles of honour. In like manner a Fijian would derive an honorary name from the clubbing to death in war of a human being of any age or sex, being entitled to call himself the Dog, Canoe, or Fort of any living chief of great renown; and warriors of rank esteemed it an honour to be generally known by their countrymen as the

"Waster" of such-and-such a coast, the "Divider" or "Devastator" of such-and-such a district. In North America the tribes had a most elaborate scale of honours, apportioning merit to the nicest distinctions of costume. According to the mark on a warrior's robe, it was known at a glance whether he had slain a man or a woman, or whether his glory only rested on the slaughter of a girl or a boy. Among the Dakota tribes, certain marks on the coveted eagle's feather denoted the warrior's title to esteem. The feather with a red spot on it signified simply that the warrior had killed an enemy; a notch cut in it, and the edges painted red, showed that the enemy had had his throat cut; whilst according as the notches were on one side or on both sides, or the feather partly denuded, it was understood that the warrior had been the third, fourth, or fifth in order, to touch the dead body of a fallen foe. Of course in European warfare the slaughter is too indiscriminate for a man to claim such special distinctions.

There is yet another point on which it would be of interest to have some statistics for correct comparison between savage and civilized warfare, and that is, concerning the relative destructiveness and frequency of wars in the two conditions. As regards destructiveness, indeed, there can scarcely be any doubt when we recall the battle-fields of the Franco-German war, and then read of Fijian wars as having sometimes been perfectly bloodless. It is even probable that the frequency of war in the savage state has been much exaggerated. Bosman cautions us, after a description of negro warfare, against thinking that negroes are always at war. The first reason by which he accounts for the fact, that the people of Fida, though able to bring into the field 200,000 men, would scarcely dare attack 5000 armed negroes, is that "they are so strongly bent to trade and agriculture, that they *never think of war.*" Besides the Esquimaux, who do not know what war means, there are the Papuan Arafuras, who live "in peace and brotherly love with one another," and the Todas in India, who are entirely destitute of military organisation. Hobbes, it is well known, conceived that a state of war was the natural primitive state of mankind; but the counter-theory of Montesquieu is at least as likely, that a state of peace is really the most primitive, or, as he expresses it, the first *natural law* of society. And there is this advantage in the theory of the French philosopher: that it divests war of that species of sanctity which attaches to everything claiming to appertain to the laws of nature or the natural state. There is always a tendency to think of nature as of something older and better than convention, so that from Hobbes' theory that the state of nature is a state of war, it has come to be thought

that a state of war is part of the unalterable conditions of existence, a condition with which it were foolish, nay, even profane, to quarrel. Hobbes' theory once discredited, the false reverence now paid to war as a primæval custom, as an instinct implanted in man at his creation, as one of the immutable laws of his being, will be paid to it no longer; and it will be regarded, as it only deserves to be regarded, as a purely optional misery, not, as it is so often spoken of, as a *necessary evil*.

But whatever the primitive state of mankind may have been, or the condition of some existent tribes as regards peace and war, it is certain that if we take savagery as a whole, its most universal attribute, its most conspicuous fault, is not so much its ignorance, its superstition, or its cruelty, as its love for war, its lust of blood, its incapacity for peace; and it is also a fact that it is in warfare more than anything else that there is most in common between civilization and savagery, and that the distinction between them most nearly disappears. In religion, in morals, in art, the difference between savage and civilized communities is so great and wide that many men indignantly repudiate all thought of any connection or community of origin between them; but in war and all that relates to it, the points of analogy between the two are conspicuous, palpable, striking. There are the same notions of the glory of war, the same belief in it as the only source of national prestige and national strength, the same hope from it of individual preferment, the same readiness to seize any pretext for resorting to it, the same foolish sentiment that it is mean to live without it. Even in its conduct the difference is rather one of weapons and tactics than of anything else; it has been shown that laws of war are not a monopoly of civilization, and it is possible that whatever advantage the latter has in this respect is compensated to some extent in savage life by the less frequent occurrence, and the less fatal character of their wars. For it is probable that their frequency has been much exaggerated, in order to enhance men's notions of the miseries of the heathen state.

A last question then remains. Civilization, ever advancing, has shaken off many of the superstitions, many of the cruelties, and much of the ignorance that it inherited from the times and thoughts of savagery; is there any reasonable ground for hope that it will ever shake off that which most clearly betrays the taint of its origin, that which is its strongest surviving link with barbarism, that which it acknowledges to be its highest reproach, and that which it would be its highest glory to put aside—namely, its pursuit and lust of war?

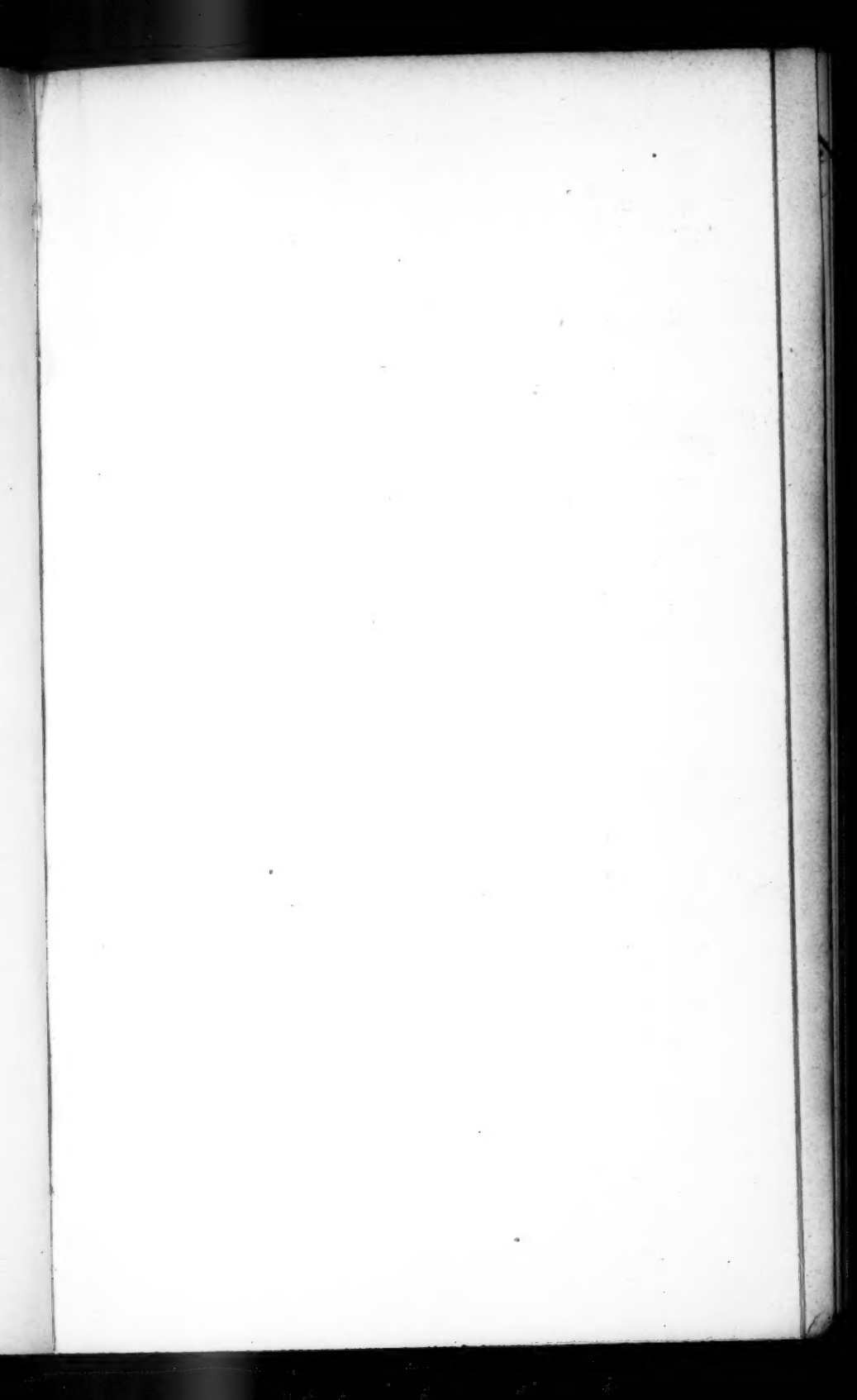
The opinion is already spreading fast that war, as a mode of settling disputes, is silly and savage; and the opinion only

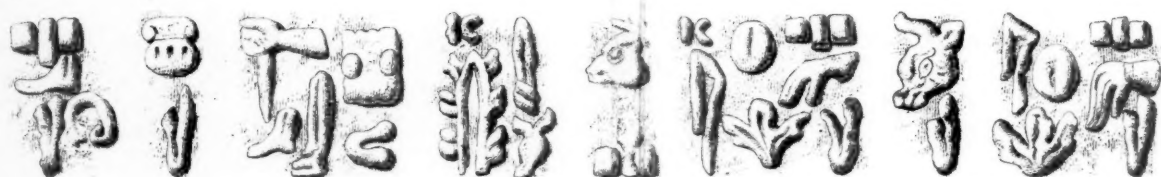
needs to spread further for war between civilized nations to become a moral impossibility, irrespective of any international Treaty of Disarmament. Such a treaty, when it comes, will be but the seal of a change of custom preceded and prepared by a change of opinion. All that is wanted is a certain amount of human opinion and human will—of opinion, that quarrels may and should be settled peaceably; of will, that they shall be settled in no other way. Not more will is required than sufficed to put down the slave trade; nor is any stronger opinion needed than was enough for the extinction of duelling and torture. No exorbitant demands are made upon human nature as it is, no excessive claims upon our energies and intelligence. It is only by exaggerations of the difficulties, the usual refuge of apathy or ignorance, that the advent of an era of peace is any longer delayed. For wars to cease, it is only necessary that their cessation should be thought *in earnest* possible and desirable; and the arbitrament of the sword will no longer be thought of, when once another mode of arbitrament is honestly preferred. Till it is, no fundamental difference between savagery and civilization can be said to exist.

DISCUSSION.

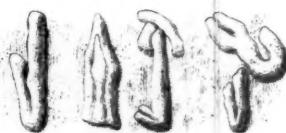
The PRESIDENT said that while the weapons and methods of warfare had been carefully studied by Anthropologists, the present author regarded war from the point of view of ethics and politics. This subject, though treated of in modern works on anthropology, had perhaps not previously been brought before the Institute. The author of the paper had contributed to the problem interesting information, showing that even among very rude tribes war was not mere fighting without rule or restraint, but that on the contrary the practice of declarations of war was general, and other restrictions appeared which showed that the object sought was not merely for one tribe to injure another as much as possible, but to decide a quarrel by ordeal of war. The collection of facts as to the effect of military organisation on society was perhaps more complete than had been previously made.

Mr. SHUTE said he did not think that it was in times of primitive savagery that the methods of warfare were most free from conventional restrictions. It was rather when civilization of a sort had dissolved back into barbarism that the warrior felt himself emancipated from all scruples of the conventional conscience. He noticed that not only a solemn declaration of war, but even a short pause after the declaration and before the commencement of hostilities, was part of the conventional morality of some of the primitive Italian tribes. He could not believe much in arbitration as a method of solving pure international questions, but he thought that more was to be hoped from the fact that those who actually carried on the

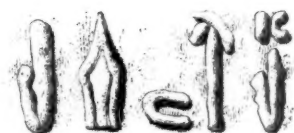




Asukh
(Oil-jar)



Ashteka
(To adore, to contemplate)



Ashibna
(We restored)



Dibash
(Honey)



Dudin
(Baskets)



Dashut
(Clashing)



Di
(Of)



Dah
(This)



Diken
(This)



Calah
(Consummation, Funeral)



Kidnah, Kodnu, Kedun
(Such as when, a mule, when)



Cohen
(Priest)



Cab
(Grieving)



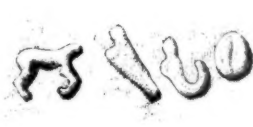
Narun
(A City)



Narun
(A City)

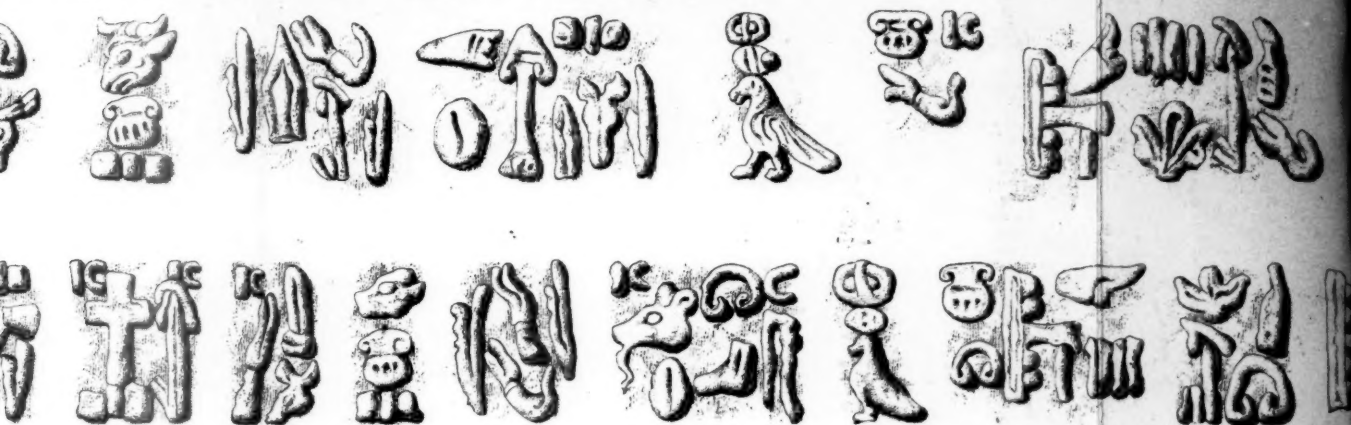


Sacar
(Wages)

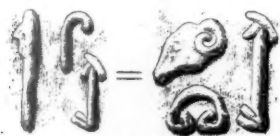


Sakh-q-u
(Play ye)

ON ON DOOR-POSTS FROM IAREBIZ (CARCHEMISH)



DICTIONARY



Aur
(Flame)



Asunik
(Thy injury)



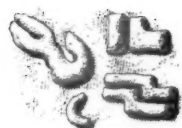
Ak, Og, Hyk
(Chief)



Bulim
(Gods)



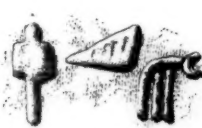
Buzi
(Spoils of)



Khinam
(Gratis)



Khabal
(Destroyed)



Khapash or Khapas
(Set free, examined)



Khadash
(Made new)



Khag-ga-ta
(Custom)



Mesuk
(Mixed wine with spice)



Minneh
(Whence)



Neginvati
(My Choir)



Nasuhati
(My gift)



Nakhal
(A possession)



Sobab
(Carried round)



Sibolet (?)
(A stream)



Ykia
(The chiefs)



Ngarut-Orah
(Libation)



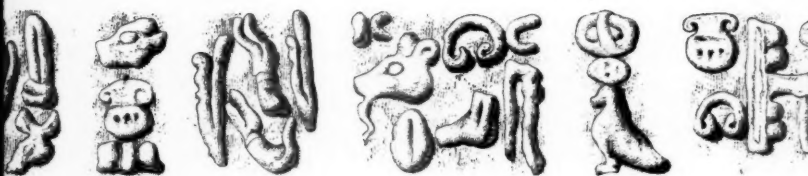
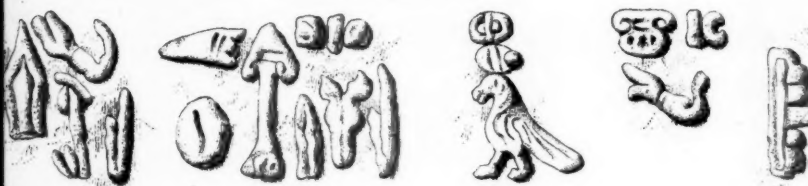
Putal
(To wrestle)



Tzipira-tsipra
(Crown)

HAMATH INSCRIPTIONS.

S FROM IAREBIZ (CARCHEMISH)



IONARY



Asunik
(Thy injury)

Ak, Og, Hyk
(Chief)

Bulim
(Gods)



Khabal
(Destroyed)

Khapash or Khapas
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Minneh
(Whence)

Neginvati
(My Choir)

Nasuhati
(My gift)

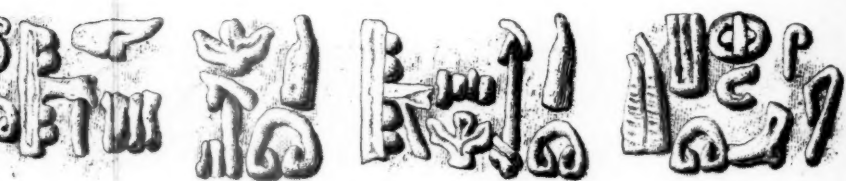
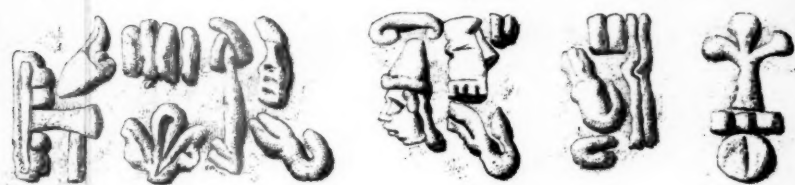


Sibolet (?)
(A stream)

Ykia
(The chiefs)

Ngarut-Orah
(Libation)

Putal
(To wrestle)



im
ds)

Buzi
(Spoils of)

Gebul
(A border)

Gub
(Dug)



Khag-ga-ta
(Custom)

Ikah
(Obedience)

Ikahvatni



Nasuhai
(My gift)



Nakhai
(A possession)



Nazuriha
(Her priests)



le)



Tzipira- teipra
(Crown)



Kahir
(The powerful)

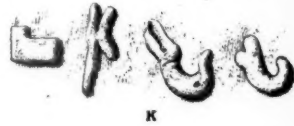
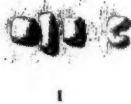


Rabbit
(Lady)

ALPHABET



Z



war, and still more those who paid for it, had now-a-days so little to gain by it. It would hardly be worth the while of the average citizen of central Germany to spend his blood and treasure in order that the burghers of Mulhouse should send a representative to Berlin instead of to Paris.

MR. WORTHINGTON G. SMITH, F.L.S., exhibited a series of 60 palæolithic implements, principally from the Valley of the Axe. Some of the specimens were unusually large and heavy, one broken implement (a butt-end) weighing more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. The Axe Valley implements were all made of chert, many presenting a large mass of the old crust of the chert on the butt; this crust so readily absorbs moisture, that after a short immersion in water some of the implements become nearly an ounce heavier in weight.

MR. SMITH also exhibited a fourth series of palæolithic implements of flint, found in the Valley of the Thames at and near London. This exhibition brought the number of Thames implements found by Mr. Smith up to 43, exclusive of 12 large flakes trimmed to an implement-like form.

THE PRESIDENT said that living at the foot of the Black-down Hills, he had looked over great quantities of chert fragments, but without finding any implements. For the rude and heavy palæolithic type of instruments, the specimens now exhibited showed the local chert to be a tolerable material, though quite unsuited to the finer flakes and arrow-heads of the neolithic age.

SQUEEZES of HAMATH INSCRIPTIONS.

By the Rev. DUNBAR HEATH.*

THESE "squeezes" come from Hamath and Carchemish, and though a geographical, social, or political account of these countries would perhaps be more interesting, the decipherment of their language is far more important, especially as Mr. Löwy has kindly come down to cross-examine me on my indentifications. Taking one small tablet alone, I had put the whole into English letters, and by grouping them properly certain roots appeared, each of which had formatives affixed or suffixed. By the simple plan of looking these words out in a dictionary, the language was shown to be evidently Semitic, and the

* Read November 25, 1879.

dialect very fair Chaldee. Take for instance the words Sa-khu-ku neginvati, "Play ye my Neginoth." We are familiar with the Hebrew word Neginoth at the head of several psalms in the authorised version, but "neginvati," is Chaldee. Sa-khu-ku is the imperative mood of the verb from which the Patriarch I-sak derived his name. The analysis is as follows :—

"Make songs, play ye my harmonies, that they may cause thee to cure." (This may be supposed to be the divine voice to the body of the Priesthood in the Temple.) "Thy fee is the gift of me, Sahidijah, from which (viz. from the fee) come Praises to his Gods in Iban." Since the above was in type, I have seen that it would be simpler to consider "my" harmonies to be the harmonies bought and paid for by me, Sahidijah.

With reference to this language and the manners and customs of the Hittites, the annexed illustration represents figures on some doorposts or lintels found at a ruinous town on the Euphrates. This has been immediately called Carchemish, but it may be Jerebis or Europus. The actual stone door-posts themselves are in excellent condition, though incomplete, and are visible to the public in the Oriental Department of the British Museum. It happens that some eight years ago the Institute was the first to lithograph the tablets found; it is now the first to publish an inscription divided into words and illustrated by an alphabet and a short but veritable Dictionary.

This work settles, or ought to settle, at once the fact that the language of the tablets is that which has been called Syro-Chaldæan or Aramaic. In the struggle for existence, this is the language which finally swallowed up all the Semitic dialects around it, including Hebrew, so that in the days of Christ, for instance, we have such phrases as "Talitha kumi" and "Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani," which are not Hebrew.

But to my mind the glimpse of the inner mind of the Hittites disclosed in these new discoveries is almost more interesting than the increased knowledge on the subject of their language. At any rate, in the following few remarks I will call attention more to the sort of things the Hittites did than to the language in which they spoke.

Let me then begin with the fact that no less than four out of the ten tablets already found are built up upon one and the same model, differing only in the names of the men who originally placed them in their places at Hamath. What we observe in all four is that they begin with a call for music, sacred music, because the cure of disease is distinctly stated to be the object sought to be attained by the music. The fee for the Holy Ceremony is then mentioned, as we should expect among a nation of merchants, and lastly, a liberality of sentiment is

shown which we have not even yet arrived at as a rule in our own day ; for those who paid the musicians at Hamath did not do so in praise of the Gods of Hamath, but each in praise of his own God, whether in Iban or in Naruna, places still unknown.

It has been submitted to me that among all the great and wonderful civilizations lately rediscovered, it may be laid down as a rule that temples were built by monarchs, and that as I have found no king's name at Hamath, there must be an error somewhere in my alleged discoveries. In this very remark (it appears to me) lies a great deal of the interest with which I scan the rediscovery of Hittite civilization. Xenophon, who passed by the Chaldees in his famous retreat, tells us expressly they were *ελευθεροι*, free men, and as free men, is it so wonderful that a temple or fane, an Oracle, or a Beth-el should grow up step by step by individual votive offerings, four of which in the shape of stone records we have but now fallen upon ? That individuals could gradually build up a fane, and should endow it with a system of lordly music, and that hundreds of such fanes should have probably existed is extremely natural in the nation of free men who for a thousand years safeguarded Europe from the cruel empires of the Great Asiatics, and who ultimately, under the name of Syrians, produced a liberal Saul of Tarsus to strengthen and establish a liberal religion out of Galilee.

In these few remarks it will be seen that I have introduced the word Bethel, and it is not without a purpose that I have done so. I believe that three at least of the engraved stones at Hamath belonged to a Beth-el, in the proper sense of the word, and, strange as it may seem, I can find no better description of the meaning of a Beth-el than by referring my readers to the First General Epistle of the Christian Apostle St. Peter. The "Strangers" to whom he wrote were scattered throughout "Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia." These provinces are the very ones subject of old to more or less of Hittite influence which would be bordered by that of Armenia on the east, and substantially Greek civilization on the west. In the second chapter the very idea of the Hittite Beth-el is described as a stone erection, divine in its totality, and composed of individual "lively stones, built up a Spiritual House." But however inviting this subject may be and is, I can but point it out on this occasion.

The scene now changes to a fifth stone (which I call B, the four others being A₁, A₂, A₃, and A₄). I have published nothing yet about it anywhere, and I think I can hardly have mentioned it in conversation. It is unfortunately imperfect here and there, and I do not profess accuracy in the translation. I think it was

probably erected near a large receptacle for oil at the entrance to a town called apparently Lebu, and contained a direction to strangers as to paying the proper fees, etc., etc. The "Custom of the Town of Lebu," it says, was to "collect oil for the Goddess of Oil." "Your libation is to the Goddess of Honey," and "the libation is an obedience to the Hyk" or chief magistrate of a place whose name is given.

I do not doubt that by many this alleged collection of oil and honey may be considered passing strange. Strange or not, however, the substantial proof of it may be found by any one who has a moderate knowledge of Hebrew. Let me ask such a one to carry his eye along my dictionary till he finds the words oil and honey. He will see them given as Mesakh and Dibash. Let him turn to an ordinary Hebrew lexicon—he will find the same. Let him do the same with other words. Again he will find that each introduced hieroglyphic is what it ought to be and where it ought to be. For instance, take the word basket. The Hebrew for this is Dud, and he will find the hieroglyphic D in Dud is the same as in Dibash. We need not trouble ourselves about the rules of logic, for common sense will tell us that the principle of the transliteration here pointed out is sufficient for its purpose.

As to the ruined city from which the lintels have been brought to England, everybody at once called it Carchemish; but for this nomenclature I do not remember that I have ever seen any proof or reason given. Quite lately, Professor Sachau, a Danish professor, has passed a few days with our Consul, Henderson, at the ruins, and gives it as a fact that the place is at present called Jeribis by the natives, and that a Macedonian colony once inhabited the site under the name of Europus. In favour of this latter view, you will recognise the image of a raven in your plate, and the Arabic for a raven is Iareb. This word Iareb, or Europus, also means the west, and Erebus means darkness. Unfortunately, this raven on the door-post has two signs preceding it, neither of which I know. The context shows the three signs together to be the name or title of a person, and there is reason to suppose that he was the high-priest of the city—the city, I should suppose, of Iareb; and that the priestly figure found by George Smith was his statue. The writing at the back of this figure is a record of the mourning ceremonies at his justification or perfectioning or funeral. The writing on this figure I call E and your lintel posts I call F. I have said nothing of C and D, as they are incomplete and contain several letters still unknown.

I am perfectly open to any arguments in favour of the famous old Carchemish; but Chemosh has not supplied his votaries

with any as yet. And now, even the bull that carried off Europa to Crete seems inclined to put in an appearance, for this inscription F seems to point to something very like the worship of Europa, whose legendary journey over the salt sea waves was doubtless a symbol of the introduction into Europe of the Hittite merchandise and civilization from Europus on the Euphrates. If this be so, the festival celebrating this would probably be held once a year at Jerebis. The games seem to have included wrestling matches (or bull-baits) for the furtherance of which the high priest gave a piece of ground without charge.

Unfortunately, this F is again only a fragment, and there are unknown letters in it. The first post (at the left of the right-hand post) begins in the middle of a sentence; the music mentioned, though still probably of a sacred kind, is of a stronger nature, more fitted for bull-baiting than that which Sahidjah paid for. "Clashings of Negrinoth; because we have brought back the bull which now is" (this reminds us of the sacred Egyptian apsis) "in order that Europus, here, your glory, might see the wrestling he gives thee, gratis, a —." Upon the other post, beginning from the ground and from the right-hand of the left post, we read: "Here passes the boundary of the possessions of the cow (or bull) whose Nazarenes" (or priests). . . . I am so uncertain about the rest, that I think it better to wait for fresh material, which is known to be on the road to the British Museum. To students I bid farewell, by asking them to take the very last four letters in the plate F, and they will read the word *i.r.b.z.*, preceded by what is thought to be the sign of a city. In other words, they will recognise "the City of Jerebiz."

DISCUSSION.

The Rev. A. Löwy observed that so long as no principle was laid down and explained as to the system by which the characters had been transliterated, it would be impossible to express an opinion on the value of the proposed reading. The first word as read in Mr. Heath's transliteration, stated to be a pronoun, was not connected with any Semitic language. Several words which followed had forms approximating the Hebrew and the Aramaic idioms. Among the curiosities of the inscriptions as deciphered by Mr. Heath was the occurrence of "yah" (Jehovah) in the same phrase in which the "Baalim" were mentioned. This combination, if correct, would make the adorers of *Jehovah* worshippers of *Baal*.

Mr. BERTIN: Both the Institute and the learned world must be thankful to Mr. Dunbar Heath for having taken up so interesting and important a subject. The lecturer seems to have been through

careful searching and reconstruction able to come to the reading of those inscriptions; but as we have not been through the same study and labour, we must only admit the reading of such and such character on his evidence, so to say, and that is admitting at first what is to be proved. For this reason I should have liked Mr. Dunbar Heath to initiate us in his system of study or indicate the steps he took. The result he has attained is striking, but it would have much more value if we knew how he came by it; we should be able to say the inscription *means that*; now we can only say Mr. Dunbar Heath says it means that. I disagree with Mr. Löwy, and agree with the lecturer that one word which is scarcely used in any dialogue may be of a great use in another; thus we have in Hebrew the word *abel*, which appears only as the name of Adam's son, and in one compound word, though in Assyrian, *abal* (son) is one of the words mostly used. I also agree that a man named from one god may make offering to another god; that appears constantly in the cuneiform inscriptions. The name of the God Jo (form for Jehovah, Mr. Löwy tells us) appears in other Semitic tribes besides the Jews, and we have it also in Assyrian; the Jews seem to have adopted it for their national God, but I cannot see yet for what reason.

MR. HYDE CLARKE confirmed the statement of Mr. Heath that the investigations of Hamath, Khita, or Hittite had been begun in that room by the exhibition of Captain Burton, and by his own immediate determination that they were syllabic characters, and not pictorial delineations, as some had supposed, nor cattle-marks, as proposed by Captain Burton. The next step for which they were indebted to Mr. Heath was the full establishment of this by the publication of parallel passages. He (the Chairman) had pointed out the Khita marks in Loftus' plate, and had proposed the extension of the Khita area, and determined the philological affinities of the language. His statement had been confirmed by the discoveries of the late G. Smith with regard to Carchemish, and made definite by those of Professor Sayce, who had identified the Khita characters on the Pseudo-Sesostris, besides pointing them out in the works of Texier and G. Perrot as to Central Asia Minor, and of the Rev. Dr. Badger as to Chaldea. The existence of the character in Lydia and Phrygia was now beyond question, and those languages were by him (the Chairman) treated as of the same affinities as the Akkad, but were nearly allied to the Etruscan. The Ivreez inscription was another known locality. He (the Chairman) had pointed out the westward passage of || (=son from cuneiform and Hamath to the Libyan. Professor Sayce was inclined to attribute the Cypriote to the same circle of distribution. These points were now quite clear, that the Khita had a full syllabary, and that it belonged to the same class as all the others of early age, itself most probably representing an archaic form. He had already at Dublin illustrated the community of cuneiform and Chinese, and their origination from an earlier character. To this class too he assimilated the Maya. What the language was of any particular Khita inscription,

it was impossible to tell. It must, however, be taken for granted that earlier inscriptions would be what is called Turanian, and the later Semitic. The Biblical Archæological Society were taking up the scroll, and would most probably produce a fount of type. It was beyond question that the Khita inscriptions would open up a new branch of learning and history of interest comparable with the other schools of palæography. In the absence of bilingual inscriptions, progress is stopped, but he could not concur in the present doctrines of Mr. Heath. † and other characters are found widely distributed, but in each syllabary they have different appropriations.

JANUARY 13TH, 1880.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., *Vice-President, in the Chair* ;
afterwards M. J. WALHOUSE, Esq.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The following presents were announced, and thanks voted to the respective donors :—

FOR THE LIBRARY.

From the EDITOR.—*Revue Scientifique*, Nos. 24-28, 1879.

From the SOCIETY.—*Journal of the Society of Arts*, Nos. 1412-16, 1879.

From the EDITOR.—“*Nature*,” Nos. 528-532, 1879.

From the EDITOR.—“*Athenæum*,” No. 624.

From the SOCIETY.—*Proceedings of the Royal Society*, No. 198.

From the EDITOR.—*Revue Internationale des Sciences*, No. 12, 1879.

From Dr. PAUL BROCA.—*Instructions crâniologiques et crâniométriques, de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*.

From Dr. PAUL BROCA.—*Instructions Générales pour les Recherches Anthropologiques*, 2nd Edition.

From the AUTHOR.—*Puerto Rico*. By C. T. Bidwell.

From the SOCIETY.—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*. Band IX, Nos. 7-8, 1879.

From J. BARNARD DAVIS, Esq., M.D.—*Strumenti in Pietra delle Provincie Calabresi*. Memoria di Giustiniano Nicolucci.

From the AUTHOR.—*Genesis I, II; an Essay on the Bible Narrative of Creation*. By Augustus R. Grote, A.M.

- From the AUTHOR.—Address of Prof. Augustus R. Grote, Vice-President, Section B, before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, at the St. Louis Meeting, August, 1878.
- From the SOCIETY.—Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen. Deel. XL. Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde. D. XXV. Af. 3. Notulen van de Algemeene en Bestuurs-vergaderingen. Deel. 17. Af. 1.
- From the AUTHOR.—Ueber die Höhlenfunde in der Wildscheuer und dem Wildhaus bei Steeten an der Lahn. von Dr. H. Schaaffhausen.
- From the EDITOR.—Correspondenz Blatt. Nos. 9-11, 1879.
- From the SOCIETY.—Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society. Vol. II, No. 1.
- From Messrs. R. CLARKE and Co.—The Mound Builders. By J. P. McLean.
- From the AUTHOR.—Der Steisshaarwirbel (vertex coccygeus), die Steissbeinglaze (glabella coccygea) und das Steissbeingrübchen (foveola coccygea), wahrscheinliche Ueberbleibsel embryonaler Formen, in der Steissbeingegend beim ungeborenen, neugeborenen und erwachsenen Menschen. Von A. Ecker.
- From the AUTHOR.—Kraniologische Untersuchungen. Von Dr. Emil Schmidt in Essen a.d. Ruhr.
- From the SOCIETY.—Bulletin de la Société de Borda à Dax, Part 4, 1879.
- From Prof. F. V. HAYDEN.—Bulletin of the United States Geological and Geographical Survey. Vol. V. Nos. 2 and 3.
- From the AUTHOR.—On the Classification of Languages. By Gustav Oppert, Ph.Dr.

The following paper was read :—

THE CAGOTS. By D. HACK TUKE, M.D., F.R.C.P.

SCATTERED through the French and Spanish provinces, bordering on the Pyrenees, as also in Brittany, certain unfortunate people have attracted attention as a scientific problem since the 16th century, at which period they passed under various names, Cagots, Gahets, Gafets, and Agotacs in France; Agotes or Gafos in Spain; and Cacous in Brittany.

Having last year visited the French border of the Pyrenees and made some inquiry and investigation into the various hypotheses regarding the origin of the Cagots, I shall endeavour to state that which appears to me to be the most probable, glancing first at their history.

The earliest date at which they are mentioned, though under a different term, namely, Christians or Christianos, is 1288. For reasons into which it is the chief object of this paper to inquire, they were shunned and hated. In 1460 the States of Bearn demanded some restrictive legislation of the King of France respecting them. There were consigned to a separate quarter in any town where they lived—a *cagoterie*—and dwelt in wretched huts in the country distinct from the neighbouring village. They entered the church by a side door when they lived, and when they died they were buried apart from others. In church a rail separated them from the rest of the congregation, a receptacle for holy water was reserved for their exclusive use, and the wafer was either not permitted them, or it was placed at the end of a stick. It was not until the time of the French Revolution that their unhappy lot was greatly ameliorated, and even now I have found their descendants regarded with a certain amount of contempt. The side door in the church can still be recognised by the traveller who, like myself, visits the districts to which I have referred; a separate basin for holy water may still be seen, and other indications survive, pointing to the isolation—the ostracism—they laboured under, and the disgust they excited.

If any one desirous of obtaining information about these people were to consult Larousse's "Grand Dictionnaire Universel du Dix-Neuvième Siècle," published in Paris a few years ago, he would find it stated that "we still find in the midst of the Pyrenees, as a remnant of the old stigma which rested on the Cagots, a certain number of families belonging to the race, hitherto regarded as infamous and accursed, who are still living under the stroke of a kind of blight, imposed not by law, but by public opinion, the nature of which seems to be complex. In short, the members of these families are still the subject of a physical degeneration, the result of long ages of oppression and of marriages always contracted among themselves. Goitre is their distinctive mark, and so to speak, the seal of their reprobation; and cretinism is the most frequent result thereof."

Again, two physicians on the Continent, MM. Ozanam and Fabre de Meironnes, have represented cagotism and cretinism as identical; while M. Littré, in 1872, defines the Cagots as "a people of the Pyrenees affected with a kind of cretinism"; and in our own country Drs. Guy and Ferrier, in their "Forensic Medicine," published in 1875, describe the Cagots as "afflicted with extreme bodily deformity and degeneracy, and with deficiency of intellect."

How far these statements are borne out by the facts will be seen as we proceed.

As regards the Cagots being a distinct race, the most prevalent

idea has been that they were originally Goths, the word Cagot being supposed to mean "Dog of a Goth" (*Canis* or *Caas*, dog). Plausible as is this opinion, there appears to be no foundation for it beyond tradition, and the etymology can be replaced, according to M. de Rochas, by one to which I will refer presently, and which certainly seems to me to receive much support from a medical point of view. Assuredly I have been unable to obtain any evidence which marks the Cagots out as a people distinct from the surrounding inhabitants.

As to the assertion that the Cagots are distinguished by goitre, and that cretinism is their general condition, I have looked in vain for evidences of it, unless, of course, they have been subjected to the same maleficent influences as those are who present these deformities, and many have no doubt suffered in this way. The goitrous and cretinous persons whom I have examined in the valleys of the Pyrenees are absolutely distinct from the Cagots. In short, Cagots and Cretins have been, in a most remarkable manner, completely confounded together, and this, as we have seen, even by continental physicians.

When in the Hautes-Pyrénées, I made from Bagnères de Bigorre an excursion to Aste and to Campan, in both of which places there were formerly *cagoteries*. In the former I saw in the church a distinct portion, formerly entered by a separate door, near which was a *bénitier*, all of which are, the curé informed me, regarded by the inhabitants as having been set apart for the Cagots. In the other town, Campan, I found more certain evidence of a *cagoterie*, for at the foot of the mountain, and separated from the town by the river Adour, there remains what is known as the "Quartier des Cagots," in which very shortly before I visited it, the last of the Cagots in this district died. She was a woman, and had attained the age of 92. The bridge over which I passed to reach this *cagoterie* is called the Pont des Cagots. Only a few miserable cottages remain. Some were in ruins. On a stone, which had once been over the door, was the date 1665. In one house into which we entered was a deserted room. I was told by the notary who accompanied me that the dwellers had gradually died out; that they had been chiefly engaged in weaving, and that they were looked down upon by the inhabitants on the other side of the river. We saw some half dozen people in the houses, but the notary said they were not Cagots. They were dark.

I should say that my companion stated that the former dwellers were light-complexioned, with blue eyes and light hair—an exception to the general fact that the Cagots do not differ from the neighbouring population.

In the town itself, he showed me the church, pointing out a

separate portion of the building formerly set apart for the Cagots, also a separate door and an isolated *bénitier*. In the churchyard there is a part railed off from the rest of the ground, and my informant said he had no doubt it had been used by the Cagots.

Neither the notary, nor any one with whom I conversed, had any idea of these people having been goitrous or cretinous. Conversely, I saw in the same day numerous Cretins in other districts, but no one on the spot dreamed of confounding them with the Cagots.

The notary no doubt well expressed the feeling which still lingers in Campan, when he said there was just a *soupçon* of Cagotism remaining.

Perhaps the best opportunity of testing the truth of some of the statements made about the Cagots occurs at Chubitoa, near St. Jean Pied de Port, in the Basses Pyrenées, where I found some two hundred persons living in a small village, separated from Auhaux by a stream, and quite isolated from the general community. The Basque word (not in the dictionary) by which they are called is Agotac, a term of reproach, not adopted by themselves, and they are exceedingly angry if so called. When I asked the driver of the mail-cart from St. Jean to Bayonne what he thought of them, he shrugged his shoulders and called them *Canaille de gens*. Accompanied by Dr. Darrieux, of St. Jean Pied de Port, I was able to enter freely into their houses and examine them. They are chiefly weavers, blacksmiths, and joiners, and own no land. I could find no indication that they were a different race from the surrounding Basque population. They speak the same language, and they are equally strict Roman Catholics. They go to church at Anhaux, but as recently as 1842 they occupied a separate place during the service. I may add that once a year, on Rogation-day, the inhabitants of these two villages join in a procession on a neighbouring hill. Until recently disputes arose between them, which have been only terminated by the gendarmerie adopting the wise precaution of joining the procession.

I did not find a single inhabitant of Chubitoa affected with goitre, and none of them were Cretins.

Most have heard the expression "a Cagot ear"—one attached directly to the cheek inferiorly and without a pendulous lobule. I only observed one or two, and such a form of ear is by no means uncommon in France or England in persons whom no one suspects of being Cagots.

The inhabitants have mostly dark hair and grey eyes, some dark. They are of medium height. Here I may remark that although dark hair and light eyes are often observed together in

the Basques, there appear to be among the general population two types of this race, one fair, with light or chestnut hair, blue or grey eyes, and with skulls apparently more dolichocephalic than in the other type, and they are on the whole taller; another with dark hair and eyes, but often florid and with brachycephalic skulls. To these may be added a third type, persons with light brown hair and eyes, with smaller features and generally slighter frames, but this type is not so well marked as the other two. Of course the more isolated the locality is the less is the probability of admixture, and in proportion as this isolation occurs, does the first-mentioned type prevail, though probably it is always in a minority in the whole population in a given district. There are postero-dolichocephalic as well as antero-dolichocephalic heads.*

It is rare to find so isolated a community of the descendants of the Cagots as this. I believe there are not more than three or four remaining in France. In other instances they have become mixed with the population. It is so at Urrugne, a village near St. Jean de Luz, where I was fortunate in being accompanied by a physician, Dr. Guilbeau, who has studied the Cagot question and expressed his opinions in print. We went to the fine old church of the 11th or 12th century, where the service was going on in Basque and Latin, and he pointed out to me the walled-up doorway on the north side, through which the Cagots were formerly obliged to enter. There is not now any distinct *bénitier* in this church, but Dr. Guilbeau (who is a native of Urrugne) remembers one in existence, when he was a boy, which was regarded as that formerly restricted to the use of the Cagots. He says that a prejudice still exists against the Cagots although mixing with others, and that time alone can eradicate so deeply rooted a hatred. He calls them Agoths (another form of Agotac) and regards their origin as still lost in an impenetrable mystery, or to use his own word "chaos," and as likely to be so for long, but he inclines to the opinion that they are the descendants of certain heretics. The Basques, whether Spanish or French, are profoundly Catholic and, urged on by the clergy, who, in spite of royal ordinances have always been opposed to the restoration of their civil rights, would, he believes, have readily, in days gone by, carried out the slightest wish of the Inquisition. Dr. Guilbeau took great pains to show the distinction between the Agoths and the Cast-Agoths, or

* Different types among the Basques no doubt account for the fact that while Retzius said they were brachycephalic, Broca declared he was in error. Achille Foville regards them as dolichocephalic, the occipital region being especially developed; the frontal less spacious than with the Parisians. ("Annales Med. Psych. 1867.")

Gitnaes, or Gitanos (gipsies) who are commonly called in France, Bohemians. The former are peaceable and moulded in the same civilization as the Basques; the latter, for the most part, lead a nomadic life and are repelled by the inhabitants as thieves and vagabonds, though some lead quite an inoffensive one, like some I saw dwelling at Ciboure, a suburb of St. Jean de Luz. These are mostly fishermen. They are called *Cascarrots*, a corruption, Dr. Guilbeau considers, of *Cast-Agoth*. He regards them as of African origin. Some of them were very dark and handsome, but not so striking as our gipsies.

Here I must remark that nothing can better illustrate the difficulty of solving the question of the origin of this strange prejudice against a class of people who present no external signs of peculiarity, than the following fact. Dr. Guilbeau inclines to regard the Cagots as originally heretics, while the Rev. W. Webster, the English clergyman residing in the same town (St. Jean de Luz), who has also studied the question for years, is of a decidedly different opinion. Mr. Webster believes that the conclusion arrived at by M. de Rochas in his remarkable work on the Cagots, published in 1876, is the true one, and, as I have said, it seems to me that it is extremely probable. This opinion is, as most of you are aware, that the Cagots were persons at one time regarded as tainted with leprosy, and were therefore obliged to live separate from others, the original cause being now long forgotten, but the prejudice outlives the reason. An examination of those who are descended from the Cagots does not, I need hardly say, help to determine the question, except so far as it tends to render other explanations improbable, and leaves us at liberty to adopt one which is supported by their past history and the etymology.

That the Cagots were regarded from a very early period as in some way allied to, if not actually, lepers, is borne out by a large amount of evidence which it would occupy too much time to adduce. It was, there can be little doubt, the dread of contagion which caused every one to shun them, and which obliged them to wear on their dress some distinctive mark, as the foot of a duck. And yet they were to some extent distinguished from lepers; they were not in lazaret-houses, and some old authors have attempted to point out wherein their symptoms differed from those of true leprosy.

Happily, we have an actual description of Cagots from the pen of a well-known medical writer in 1561. Ambroise Paré, after describing tubercular leprosy, says: "Some lepers have the face beautiful and the skin polished and smooth, giving no indication of leprosy. Such are the white lepers called *Caquots*, *Capots*, and *Cagots*, who are in Lower Brittany, and near

Bordeaux in Guienne, where they are called Gahets [or Gafets], in whose appearance none or few of the signs of leprosy are found."

I am fortunate in having obtained on this passage the opinion of so good a dermatologist as Mr. Jonathan Hutchinson, who considers that Ambroise Paré is here describing leucoderma. It would seem, then, that some of the Cagots suffered from the simple absence of pigmentation which characterises leucoderma. A physician of Montpellier, M. Joubert, wrote in 1563 a very similar description to that of Paré,* but he adds as a symptom, "swelling of the face," which is an indication of leprosy, and not of leucoderma; so either this was really a variety of true leprosy, or (what is more probable) he confounded the symptoms he had witnessed in true leprosy and in leucoderma.

If, as is likely, some of the Cagots laboured under a variety of true leprosy as well as under leucoderma, that variety was "white leprosy," and it is this, the "anæsthetic" form, upon which M. de Rochas dwells. He does not clearly recognise leucoderma as distinct from white leprosy, and it appears that the two affections are frequently confounded together in the East at the present day. It is a striking confirmation of the theory of leprosy, that the Portuguese apply one term *Gaferia* to the anæsthetic variety (elephantiasis anæsthetica) and that one of the names of the Cagots employed by the Spaniards is *Gafos*. And this brings us to the question of etymology, the bearing of which on the origin of the Cagots, M. de Rochas has worked out with so much ingenuity, and as it would seem with complete success.

Taking the word Cagot, he finds that the Celto-Breton word *Cacodd* signified leprous, and it is easy to see how readily it would assume the form of *Cacous* (as it is in Brittany actually applied to these people), and the French *Cagot*. Cagots were also called *Mézegs*, and as *Mézeau* is French for leprous,

* "There are," he says, "men who present a general *leucé* (vitiligo) and are commonly called Cagots and white lepers. For their true malady is not elephantiasis, properly so called . . . it is no longer the lepra of the Greeks . . . It is in the lymph that cagotism (capoterie) has its source. Everything indicates it: the uniformly white colour (almost like snow) of the skin; the absence of itching, the smooth and polished surface of the body; lastly, the swelling of the face. The sole thing which denotes that their health is not perfect is the smell of their breath, which is owing to the facility with which the lymph is corrupted. It is not contagious, as elephantiasis is, but is hereditary. . . . It is with reason that they are forbidden to marry with others."

† M. Bullet, in his "Dict. Celtique" recognises the connection between *Cacodd* and *Cacous*, both signifying leprous. It is not an ingenious idea of M. de Rochas. *Cacoa* signifies a hook. M. Bullet, however, under *Cacou*, refers the reader to *Cacca* ("to send away"), and says, "On chassoit les lepreux de la société."

there is further evidence of the etymology being as stated by M. de Rochas. He has also found that in the old laws of Navarre, the "Romance of the Cid," and in the "Dictionary of the Spanish Academy," the signification of leprosy is attached to "*gafe*,"* the root of the word being "*gafa*," a hook, which was applied to the contraction of the hand or fingers often witnessed in leprosy, especially the anæsthetic variety.

I think, then, that combining the medical and etymological evidence, the descent of the Cagots from the Goths is much less probable than from those affected in the Middle Ages with a particular form of leprosy, or a condition which resembled it. It is true that we find two physicians, MM. Noques and Perrey, examining a number of these outcasts in 1611, and reporting that they were like other men; but this is explicable on the supposition that leprosy and leucoderma had died out in these cases. How tenaciously the stigma clung to them is shown by the fact that half a century afterwards, when Louis XIV. issued an edict favourable to them, based on another medical examination, the people resolutely refused to associate with them.

That they should have been called "Chrestians" is accounted for by M. de Rochas by the circumstance that lepers were actually called *Pauperes Christi* (as they were also called *Pauperes St. Lazari*). So Cretins were called Christians, and I do not doubt that this is the reason why Cagots and Cretins have been so often confounded together.

Recurring for a moment to one definition of a Cagot given in the French cyclopædia of Larousse, we may safely assert that it contains no less than three errors, in saying that the Cagots are a distinct race, that goitre is their distinctive mark, and that cretinism is the most frequent result of their isolation. It would probably call to mind the story of Buffon and the Crab. Some one had defined it as a fish; as red in colour; and as walking backwards. Buffon's opinion being asked of the definition, he replied it was correct, with three exceptions: the crab was not a fish; it was not red till boiled; and it did not walk backwards. In all other respects the definition was unexceptionable!

In conclusion, while conscious of the difficulties which surround the attempt to trace the origin of the Cagots, I would sum up the opinions I am myself disposed to adopt as follows:—

1st. The Cagots are not the descendants of the Goths; they are not a distinct race, but a despised class among the people of the country in which they live.

2nd. They are not more subject to goitre or to cretinism than the inhabitants in their vicinity; in short, cagotism and cretinism are in no way allied.

* French syn. *gaffe*; English, *gaff*.

3rd. The present representatives of the Cagots are now recognised by tradition, and not by their features, and are not distinguished by any peculiar mental or physical disorder, except when residing in an unhealthy locality.

4th. Although nothing like leprosy or leucoderma has for long affected the Cagots, and no one on the spot regards them in this light, there is evidence to show that they were originally, in some instances, lepers labouring under a particular variety of leprosy, and in others persons affected with leucoderma; the form of the affection accounting for their being regarded as in some respects different from ordinary lepers, though shunned in the same way.

5th. Many were no doubt falsely suspected of leprosy, in consequence of some slight skin affection. Others, again, were members of families in whom leprosy had died out—descendants of the lepers.

DISCUSSION.

MR. EVANS agreed in the author's views, which also accorded with those of several French Anthropologists. He cited the existence of Lepers' Chapels in England, and notably one at St. Stephen's, near St. Alban's. With regard to the derivation of the name of Cagot, he observed that the term did not appear to date back much beyond the 13th century, and could therefore hardly be an original Breton word. Its earliest form, *Cacod*, suggested the possibility of its being a derivative from some Greek medical term, compounded from *κακός*, and the evil smell mentioned by the author as a characteristic of leucoderma pointed to *κακώδης* as a possible root. He made this suggestion doubtfully, but it might be worth consideration.

DR. C. CLAPHAM: I look upon Dr. Hack Tuke's derivation of the word Cagot as extremely probable. As regards the prevalence of leprosy in Europe I may say that I have seen numerous cases of it in Norway, where special hospitals are provided for its treatment. Leprosy must not, however, be confounded with elephantiasis arabum (some photographs of which I see on the table) which consists in an immense thickening and hypertrophy of the true skin, sometimes involving underlying tissues and which at the hands of Mr. Bryant and other surgeons has been successfully treated by ligature of the main artery supplying the limb affected.

MR. WALHOUSE: With respect to the side doors by which only in the Middle Ages lepers were admitted into churches, I believe some are still to be seen in several parts of England, as for instance in the very ancient church of Worth, near Swanage, in Dorsetshire, in the wall of which there is a doorway believed to date from Saxon times, so low that all who entered by it must bend their head; it is still known as the lepers' door. In India the disease

known as leucoderma is not uncommon: the patches of white are whiter than on European skin. Persons affected by it are avoided and regarded with disgust, and on death their bodies are not buried, as otherwise it is popularly believed drought or pestilence would be the result. When the disease appears at birth the infants are probably in most cases abandoned; leprosy does not seem to prevent those affected in after-life from reaching old age. In Southern India elephantiasis is most frequent on the western or Malabar coast, indeed it is commonly called the Malabar leg. People affected are nevertheless able to walk with considerable activity. I never remember seeing it in *both* legs, as in the photograph exhibited, nor, though Mussulmans form a considerable proportion of the population, did I ever see one affected by elephantiasis; it does not seem to be hereditary, nor, in its earlier stages at least, to affect health.

In the absence of the author, the following paper was read by the Director:—

NOTES on the JÍVAROS and CANELOS INDIANS.

By ALFRED SIMSON, Esq., F.R.G.S.*

THE tribe or family of the Jívaros is a large one, and one of the most distinguished, independent, and warlike in South America. They alike withstood the attacks of the Jucas and the Spaniards, burning the once famed cities of Logroño and Mendoza, and massacring all the male inhabitants who did not succeed in making their escape; and even to this day they maintain the most thorough independence. The missions at Macas and Gualaquiza have as yet produced no practical results, nor obtained any authority over the Indians. A Jesuit padre, who had resided three years at Gualaquiza amongst them, informed me that he had found it impossible to make any progress with them; and more than once his life was personally threatened. During these three years twenty nine whites (*i.e.*, half-caste traders) were killed in the neighbourhood of Gualaquiza.

The Jívaros speak a language of their own, Jívaro, and occupy the country generally from the Upper Pastassa to the Santiago, both rivers included, down to the Pongo de Mauseriche, on the Marañon. Most of those, however, at Pintuc understand and speak Quichua.

* These notes were chiefly taken during a very short stay at a Jívaro Settlement on the borders of the River Pintuc (or Pindo), one of the tributaries on the left bank of the Upper Pastassa, in Ecuador, and refer mainly to that portion of the tribe inhabiting this region.

Their houses are large and built of "chonta" or "tarapoto" palms, split in two and standing vertically in the ground, close to each other, like a stockade; the principal stakes for supporting the roof being entire stems of the same palms. The roof is composed of rafters of bamboo, and thatched with interwoven palm-leaves, principally "yarina." The ground-plan of the house is shaped like a bagatelle board, square in front and round at the back, with doors at both ends.

The dwellings are very spacious inside; and the even plaiting of the high pointed roof thatch gives the ceiling a pretty and finished aspect. Several families live together in one house, each in its special corner or portion, where it has its separate fire; the earthen pots and other cooking utensils being stored on a sort of tray of split bamboo suspended from above. The way the fires are maintained is very ingenious: three large logs, about one to one-and-a-half feet in diameter and ten to twelve feet long, are placed with their points converging to a centre, at equal angles; and on the approximated inner ends the pot is stood. As the logs are consumed, the fire is fed merely by pushing them a little further in towards the centre; and if a stronger fire is required, smaller wood is thrown on the always red-hot and smouldering ends and fanned for a few moments with a fan of plaited grass.

The Jívaros are hospitable; but are, like most others of their race (and perhaps ours too), very fond of giving little so that they may receive more. However, a traveller, immediately he arrives, is always offered refreshment in the shape of boiled yuca, plantain, or whatever may be cooking, and the never-failing "chica," which stands about in every house in very large earthen pots of the "lotah" shape.

This chief sustenance of the Indian of these parts is made of the cassava root (yuca) boiled, and then partly chewed by the women, and partly mashed, after which it stands to ferment, on the third day becoming a little sharp in taste, which quality increases as the fermentation proceeds. Its consistency and appearance are much like mashed potatoes; and to prepare it for drinking a couple of ladlefuls (the hand is the ladle) are taken and worked and kneaded in a calabash of water, until well mixed: then all the coarser fibre, which floats on the surface, is removed with a fork (the digital one supplied by Nature), and the refreshing and sustaining beverage is in condition for drinking.

Polygamy is frequently met with among the Jívaros, but I have not heard of wives being exchanged, as the late Professor Orton, in his work on these territories, says is the case. On the contrary, this tribe—and, I am authoritatively informed, also the

other hordes observe the same practice—is of all Amazonian Indians probably the most jealous of its women; and very frequently not only are these not allowed to talk to strangers, but, with Oriental exclusiveness, not even to show themselves, a custom remarkably opposed to the habits of the Záparos, Cotos, Canelos, Oregones of the Putumayo, and Nilsayas of the Japurá. At Pintuc it was notorious that an old Jívaro named Huilijinda, who lived close by on the banks of the Pastassa, killed one of the six wives he possessed, for inconstancy.

The Pintuc Indians do not come under the Spanish denomination of “bravos;” they offer no violence to strangers of gentle purpose, but they ally with their half-brothers, the Canelos and Sarayacu Indians against the more aggressive Jívaros on the right bank of the Pastassa, and near the Morona, or Paute. They have a most perfect and finished method of scalping, by which the victim’s head is reduced to the size of a moderately large orange, maintaining tolerably well all the features. Only the lips, point of the nose, and all the thicker fleshy portions, of course acquire too much prominence. To produce these ghastly objects, the skin is cut round the base of the neck, and the entire covering of the skull removed in one piece. This is then dried gradually by means of hot stones placed inside it, until the boneless head shrinks to the required size. They also wear their slain enemies’ hair in long plaits round the waist.

Their arms are the spear of chouta, sometimes furnished with an iron head, and “bodoquera,” or blow-gun, for smaller game and birds. Some use shields.

The Jívaros practise a system of telegraphy, which has at all times been very dangerous to their adversaries in war, by giving strokes on the “Tunduli,” a large drum, which is heard from house to house, and passed on from hill to hill. The houses are all over their territories at convenient distances for the purpose; and in this manner very varied information is conveyed in a few moments to all the families of hordes dispersed over a large extent of country. This was the greatest danger the Spaniards had to contend with, and is still a main source of protection to these Indians, as they can rouse large numbers at a moment’s notice, and sound the alarm through entire hordes.

They are regular workers, and do not pass the whole day in idleness like many others of their race. They issue forth to hunt, work in their plantations, build canoes, attend to pig breeding, etc., regularly every day; returning to the house generally early in the afternoon to enjoy repose in the lighter occupations of scraping lances or darts for the “bodoquera,” making combs, feather ornaments, etc., whilst the women, who sometimes go out to work with them, cook and prepare the chicha

mass—their standard alimentation, and during their journeys the only one, being convenient and light to carry wrapped up in plantain leaves.

Amongst the Gualaquiza Jívaros, whom I had no opportunity of visiting, however, great festivities are held when a child is, at three or four years of age, initiated into the art and mysteries of smoking.* All the family is gathered together; and the eldest member then makes an oration in which he especially dwells upon the valour and glorious example to be witnessed in the lives of the child's ancestors and actual grown-up relations, the number of enemies they have slain, and so forth. The hope is then expressed that the representative of the new generation in the family may follow these meritorious footsteps, and after the manner of his forefathers prove himself a brave warrior. The address delivered, the pipe is then handed to the poor little fellow; and after he has taken a few whiffs, all the elders puff seriously in turn, and then wind up the proceedings by disporting themselves in chicha drinking, in celebration of the momentous event.

The "couvade" is rife among the Jívaros; and at the birth of a child, the mother has to undergo all her parturient troubles outside the house, exposed to the elements, whilst the husband quietly reclines in the house, coddling and dieting himself for some days, until he has recovered from the shock produced upon his system by the increased weight of his responsibilities as a father. This custom is still also in some measure extant in many of the civilized villages on the Solimoens, where amongst the Tapuyos, and even degrees more approached to white, the father, on the birth of a son or daughter, lays himself in the hammock, from which he will not move on any consideration to do any kind of work, nor especially to touch any cutting instrument, fearing thereby to exercise evil influences upon the healthy development of the child.

The Jívaros of the Pintuc, and most others, have the habit of vomiting nearly every morning, by the aid of a feather—a practice similar to that of the Piojés of the Putumayo—arguing that all food remaining in the stomach overnight is unwholesome and undigested, and should therefore be ejected. It has been asserted that their remarkable health and prowess is partly attributable to this habit: certain it is that it obviates some of the bad effects of the not unfrequent "gorging" in which Indians after long fasts are so prone to indulge. However, the Piojés, who treat themselves in the same manner, are certainly not more healthy—and less brave—than most other similarly placed

* This strange and interesting custom was related to me by my friend, the Rev. Padre Pozzi, who resided as a missionary amongst these Indians for some years.

tribes. If it is a fact that the Jívaros are generally healthier and more robust than the rest of their race near the Equator—more astute and fearless they certainly are—it would seem reasonable to attribute this to the simple fact that their habits of work and rest are more regular, and they are much more provident than other tribes in keeping themselves supplied with food of good quality.

We continued our friendly relations at the Pintuc and received many daily presents of yuca, plantains, sweet potatoes, and fowls, presenting the Indians in return with hatchets, looking-glasses, and beads for the men; and needles, thread, and beads for the women. We also procured some of their tiger and monkey-tooth necklaces and some feather ornaments.

My companion, Mr. Sarkady, photographed the house and our tent, and afterwards twice attempted a group of the Indians; but as they always moved, and a monkey, one of the numerous pets about the establishment, meddled with the chemicals, the result was by no means brilliant.

The "cluck" of satisfaction referred to previously requires a little explanation; and it seems to be an expression common to all the tribes of the Provincia Oriental. It is not produced by a mere "click" of the tongue inside the closed, or nearly closed, teeth; but by placing the tongue forward between the teeth, exhausting the air in the buccal cavity, and then suddenly opening the jaws and allowing the tongue to spring back to its normal position when at rest. The cluck usually signifies admiration, satisfaction, or astonishment; but it means something more than either of these, and occasionally expresses all of them together. When some other Indians were carrying our baggage later on, if they had set down the load and had to hoist it on to their backs again, or if they came to a bad step on the forest track, which had to be struggled over or climbed up with difficulty or strong effort, the muscles were always first braced with a "cluck," as a man might say "here goes," before taking a powerful leap.

The Canelos Indians.

Canelos, the once attractive Spanish settlement, but now forlorn Indian village, is situated on the left* bank of the Bobonaza, one of the most important, if not the largest, of the tributaries of the Upper Pastassa, and is inhabited by a mixed tribe of Indians, in whom the chief element is Jívaro; though

* Professor Orton in "The Andes and the Amazon," says on the *right*; but he never went there.

some of the better traits of these seem to be wanting in them. Their language is Quichua.

They are lazy workers; and the young men, much after the fashion of more civilized communities, given up to dandyism, drink and trivial loquacity. All are excessively curious, and some even coolly placed their hands in my pockets to find out of what the contents consisted. However, some of the old and more serious men are quite steady-going members of society, as a rule; but even these also, on occasion, are fond of their little excesses.

The Canelos are not so jealous of their women as the true Jívaros and the Napos; but retain the valour of the former, and are always ready to face wild animals, or to defend themselves bravely against the attacks of the Jívaros *bravos* who sometimes fall upon them, and on which occasions they ally with the Indians of the Pintuc and Sarayacu, the latter a village further down the Bobonaza.

Their fighting is done entirely with the lance, which is their inseparable companion, and all my attempts to induce any of them to part with his weapon were useless. The same reply was always elicited: "Wherewith shall I kill the jaguar when he comes?" These spears, as those of the Jívaros, are very well made, of chouta-palm, and generally with a well-shaped iron or steel head, procured from traders. Some men have, however, on one or two occasions, penetrated into civilization as far as Riobamba solely with the object of purchasing a spear-head to their taste. The shaft is gracefully tapered towards the end, and sometimes tastefully coloured.

Amongst all Indians "Women's Rights" are at a very low stage of advancement; but amongst the Canelos probably more so than others. As with many tribes, the young male grows up very independent; and as soon as he can run about, rapidly acquires all the habits and vices of his elders. His day is chiefly spent in lolling round about the village, or further in the woods, with his blow gun, which he learns to use from childhood to the destruction of all the small birds. He also learns to fish and follow game, and soon becomes an adept in woodcraft, recognising at a glance the slightest trace of a track of man or animal, the nature of the thicket before him and the trees above him; and, when still a boy, every tree and spot for miles around his home is familiar to him. Besides this, he acquires that knowledge, almost instinctive in the Indian, of locality and direction, so difficult to understand, but which undoubtedly is instilled into the mind by the almost unconscious observation primarily of the position of the heavenly bodies, the direction of prevailing winds as frequently illustrated in the

growth of mosses and lichens, and the bend of trees, the general currents of the smallest streams, and the closest appreciation of many minor sources of enlightenment which would escape the notice of any but the most practised woodsman. It is truly marvellous to witness the knowledge an Indian displays (especially the Záparos) in detecting the presence of animals and tracking them, without even following *on their trail* half the time, when the unsophisticated can neither see nor hear anything to indicate that game has been or actually is near at hand. For an Indian, the slightest sound, rustle, or a glimpse of the tip of a feather indicates to him at once all the particulars and species of a bird that may be hidden in the dense wood at the top of a tree through the heavy foliage of which it seems impossible to discern anything.

Once a proficient hunter and possessor of good poison, of which fact the community is made aware by the number of toucans' tails with which he adorns his person—this bird being one of the most difficult to kill as it is nearly always seen at the tops of the highest trees and is one of the toughest preys to the Tecuna poison—he finds no difficulty in successfully making his advances to any young squaw to whom he may have taken a fancy. In reality there is little romance in the Indian maiden's preference for the greatest hunter: her "penchant" for him lies in the hard probability that he, above others, will be more likely to provide her with an abundance of animal food.

The wife selected, she is bestowed upon the happy swain by her father; and all the bridegroom is required by custom to do, either then or previously, is to clear the ground necessary for a plantain and yuca plantation. This practically almost ends his destiny so far as work and the care of his family is concerned; and on the days he has not a special fit of laziness at home or jollification in the village, such as a wedding, death, the cleaning and weeding of a plaza, the arrival of friends from or departure to the Marañon for the purchase of salt and poison, each of which occasions constitutes a drinking bout of at least three days and nights, he merely strolls into the woods to seek game, which in the neighbourhood of the villages is generally rather scarce. He consequently returns usually unladen; but if successful, upon entering the house, throws his sport with disdain to the ground and himself into the hammock, and haughtily receives the attentions of his wife and the "chicha" proffered for his refreshment. Every time a stranger enters a house, he is barely seated before each one of the women separately offers him a calabash of chicha.

The poor woman leads a hard life; for apart from the arduous duties falling to the lot of all natural mothers, she has

to plant the "chacra," clean it and gather the fruit—a harder toil than may be imagined—make the chicha constantly, cook, cut and carry the firewood, provide her own dress and ornaments, and whenever her husband is drunk follow behind him like a dog by day and go before him by night fanning a firebrand to and fro to light his path, with the general duty of aiding him to rise each time the ground may come into contact with his lordly head, and assisting him in any other manner that may offer. The precedence is given to the wife by night, so that any venomous snake or other vermin lurking in the path may attack her first and not her affectionate husband, and to illustrate to him more clearly the steps he should choose.

When these Indians came, almost daily, bringing in large bunches of plantains, etc., the man always walked first with his lance in his hand and feathers on his head, whilst the wife followed meekly behind, laden like a pack-horse with the fruits, and often a child on her hip besides, and another dragging at her heels. I once suggested to some of the men that they should provide their women with some ornaments and clothing, but they evidently took my remarks to be pleasantry.

The favourite amusement current seemed to be beating the drum, an instrument about eighteen inches long and twelve in diameter, scooped out of a solid log, and generally imported from the Napo, where the Canelos and Sarayacus go on foot to fetch them, thinking nothing of walking from Canelos or Sarayacu to Aguano and back, only to buy a drum. During the fêtes before referred to, the three monotonous strokes, one long, two short, and a rest, are heard day and night; or a solitary Indian, decked in feathers, and followed by his faithful spouse, may be seen reeling from house to house tattooing on the instrument, which is suspended by a cord from his neck.

My companion, Mr. Sarkady, photographed the "church" and "convent" with two Indians, whom we had great trouble to get to stand with us, as they have the idea that their soul is carried away in the picture; but they soon stopped and returned to us on our telling them that it was too late, since we had already secured their spirits. They were in some alarm and the next day came specially to ask again if it were really true that we had taken away their souls.

An old Indian named Marcelino, a sturdy old fellow, was, of the many Indians I have seen of his class, the most intelligent and desirous of acquiring knowledge, and not out of mere curiosity like his brethren. To his repeated and urgent questions, I explained to him how far away my country was; how on foot and in canoe—the only methods of progression known to him—it would take him ten moons to reach it, were this indeed

at all possible; how many of its villages contained each more men than all the tribes he knew put together; how knives, axes, beads, *lieuzo*, guns, and all such things were to be had there in the greatest profusion, and that even any of these articles which he possessed were made in my country. And I further explained to him that there was no jaguars or snakes to destroy one's dogs and children, but only animals useful to man, and that served him for food. He must have thought it a paradise.

One of his most earnest inquiries was regarding the rotundity of the earth, and I expounded the, to him, astounding and new theory that if he went on always in the same straight direction he would at last, after years' of walking and canoeing, come back from the opposite direction to the same spot whence he had started. He told me that he thought that upon reaching the horizon—which, however, if he tried, he must have found it difficult to attain—he would fall over a great precipice. I also told him that we had a method of transport by which we could go a distance as from Canelos to the Topo in less than an hour, over the rivers and through the mountains. This information brought forth a sounding "cluck."

The seriousness and earnestness with which he listened to my explanations interested me much, and we became great friends. I delighted him exceedingly by giving him one of my pipes to smoke, and he, to make the best of it, completely swallowed all the smoke he could draw in huge volumes. The next day he told me he had been so giddy from its effects that he had felt very uncomfortable and could hardly stand, which did not surprise me much in one who had never before smoked strong tobacco, and from a short pipe; nevertheless, he was nothing loth to have another fill, and took care not to waste the good things that were laid before him by again swallowing all the smoke, regardless of the discomfort he knew it would afterwards cause him. I reminded him of this, but he merely said "he liked smoking the pipe." His thoughts never went forward to inevitable consequences; as ours in parallel cases so often disregard the unfailing Nemesis.

DISCUSSION.

Dr. HACK TUKE wished to make an observation on the striking fact common among savages, of which a remarkable illustration had been given in the paper just read—namely the wonderful acuteness of the sense of smell. No doubt our ancestors at a remote period possessed the same faculty, and what interested him was to see cropping up from time to time, instances of the recurrence of this heightened olfactory sensibility. He knew a gentleman who, when

young, always smelt the keys of the piano before playing, and in fact tested everything by an application to the nose in the first instance—it was his guiding sense. He knew a little girl who always did the same thing. Again, only the other day he became acquainted with a gentleman who when young could accurately distinguish the gloves of different people simply by smelling them, provided he was familiar with those to whom they belonged; in fact, he recognised persons as much by scent as by sight. This reminded him of the fact that in certain morbid conditions of the nervous system, temporarily induced, the most remarkable exaltation of this sense, and indeed, of the gustatory sense as well, occurred. Circumstances which appeared very mysterious, might thus often be explained. Another sense at first sight, seemed super-added, but it was only a hyperæsthesia of a natural sense, either through hereditary descent as in the first class of cases, or by inducing vascular and corresponding nervous changes, in the other class.

“KEMP HOW,” COWLAM. By Mr. J. R. MORTIMER.*

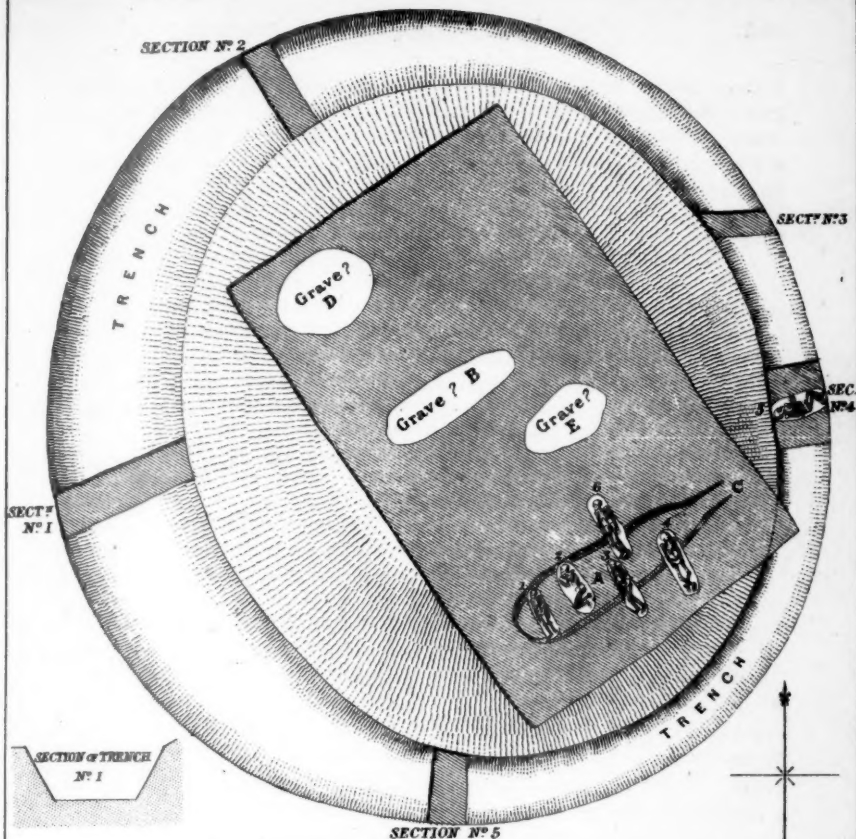
“KEMP HOW” is one of the few barrows on the “Cowlam Farm,” six miles north of Driffield, which some few years ago was opened by the Rev. Canon Greenwell. At the time of his researches, and until quite recently, this mound was covered with a clump of old fir trees. Previous to the planting of these trees, a moiety of the south-east side of the mound had been carted away, leaving it somewhat unshapely and its original limits difficult to determine. But a three-weeks’ free use of the pick and the shovel during July and August, 1878, enabled me to obtain the original plan of this remarkable barrow.

At the time of opening, it measured $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet from base to summit, and the natural surface of the ground beneath it stood fully 1 foot higher than the present surface of the land for some distance round its margin.

It was formed entirely of chalk rubble and soily matter, obtained mainly from an encircling trench, which on the north-west side was very deep and wide.

We turned over the whole of this mound except its outskirts. Near the north-west margin there was an excavation (marked “D” on the plan), extending 8 to 10 inches below the base of the mound, and measuring $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet, the floor of which was covered all over with a film of dark matter, in which were small bits of burnt wood. No relic, or the slightest trace of a body,

* Read June 24, 1879.



A , marks the body of the Cave - C , the entrance

The dark portions denote the areas excavated during our researches.

N^o 1 Section of the Trench is 21 ft wide at the top, 12 ft at the bottom, and 8 ft deep.

Nº 2 14 f. and about 6 f. deep.

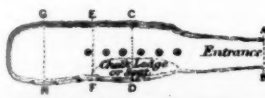
Nº 3 8 f. 44 f. deep.

N^o 4 7 ft. and 4 ft. deep.
N^o 5 10 ft. 21 ft. deep.

N. 5 *10 f.* *2 1/2 f. deep.*
Diameter of the Mound inside of the Tank 60 ft. N.W. to S.E. 100 ft.

Diameter of the Mound, inside of the Trench, from N.W. to S.E. 100 ft.

S.W. to N.E. 86 f^t



CROSS SECTIONS

PLAN OF CAVE DWELLING
showing Entrance & Rock Seat, and the six carbonized uprights,
which had supported the roof, 8 to 9 inches in thickness.



was observed. A little west of the centre (at "B" on the plan) there was a still larger excavation, 18 inches deep. It contained rough chalk, but no trace of an interment. East of this was a third excavation ("E" on the plan) oval in form and 3 feet deep.

Like the previous one it was filled with chalk and contained no relic or trace of a body. The digging of these had preceded the erection of the mound, as there were no indications of it having been cut through. The conclusion is forced upon the mind that these excavations were graves, and that the bodies they at one time most probably contained had, from the access of air and the free percolation of water through the open super-incumbent mound, finally disappeared.

This was not, however, the case with the secondary and comparatively recent interments of six adult bodies, found at the south-east side of the mound, 1 foot to 2 feet below its base. Though unaccompanied by any relic, the very narrow form of the graves and the extended and but slightly flexed position of the bodies alone showed them to be Angles.

The dark lines round the bodies give the shape of the graves (which is the general form of the Anglo-Saxon graves of this neighbourhood).

Below these secondary graves there was found an older and far more interesting excavation. Its form and position is shown on the plan of the barrow at "A." At first it was thought to be a huge grave, but as the work proceeded appearances indicating it to have served some other purpose were visible. Its filling-in was peculiar. It consisted of broken chalk, surface soil, and burnt wood, presenting altogether a very unusual arrangement. Along its centre for a distance of about 15 feet were six carbonized uprights of wood, 6 to 9 inches in diameter, at about equal distances and in a row. Wood ashes were also found on the sides and bottom, and scattered in the material filling the excavation.

Also along the centre many of the large flat pieces of chalk stood on their edges, and from various depths we picked up portions of animal and probably human bone, burnt as well as unburnt, and many fragments of a reddish urn. It was observed that the east end of this excavation became narrower and rose towards the surface. It now seemed evident that it was not a grave for the dead, but a house for the living. Its form, as shown on the accompanying plan, was oblong, with a ground floor, 25 feet by $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet; and its greatest depth was 6 feet. To its east end was a passage 11 feet long, gradually sloping to the surface.

On its south side, commencing at the inner end of the passage and extending inwards for about 12 feet, was a ledge or rock-

seat standing about 13 inches above the opposite side of the floor, as shown by the dotted lines in the plan and section. The whole width of the floor at the south-west end, for a distance of about 6 feet, was 10 to 12 inches above the centre and lowest part of the floor. Probably this end of the artificial cave-dwelling was used as a sleeping compartment, whilst the ledge of rock near the opposite end of the dwelling and communicating with the entrance-passage was the seat on which those ancient Troglodytes sat, “chipped the flint, carved the bone or jet, and moulded the rude pottery,” the fragments of which we possess from the *débris* of the cave. The roof of this cave had most probably been formed of horizontal timber, supported by strong uprights of the same material, and then covered with a mound of earth and stones. After which, from some cause or other, the roof gave way and the superincumbent earth and stones slid into the dwelling, several of the large flat stones, as before named, remaining on their edges, and the filling-in was altogether strikingly peculiar.

The abundance of wood ashes affords unquestionable evidence of the dwelling having been burnt, either accidentally or by an enemy. The preservation of the six uprights was due entirely to their having been completely charred. The fragments of red pottery previously named are quite plain and belong to three or more vessels, which were probably used for domestic purposes.

The roof of the cave must have fallen in long previous to the Anglo-Saxon interments, as where the bodies lay, partly over the cave and partly upon the undisturbed rock, not the slightest distortion was visible, which would have been the case had not the filled-in portion under the bodies become through time as firm as the undisturbed rock itself. Near the south side of the dwelling, at about the base of the mound, we picked up several broken human bones and bits of a dark-coloured urn. Probably these belonged to a disturbed Anglo-Saxon burial.

We also found in the material of the mound, between the graves E B D, a considerable quantity of detached animal and human bones; the latter indicated three or more individuals, a few of the bones showed traces of fire. There were also several small pieces of a dark plain urn. From a little south of the grave “D,” one of the workmen picked up a large jet stud, of British type, but having been found in material, part of which had fallen from above, its original position was not made out. Considerable interest is attached to the cave-dwelling being within the encircling ditch of the barrow, and had not this side of the mound been previously removed, a section would have shown whether the cave was posterior to, or contemporaneous with, the erection of the barrow.

This cave is not the only example I have met with during my explorations in a small area on the Yorkshire Wolds.

I have found in connection with tumuli, distinct remains of six other ancient dwellings which seem to belong to the barrow period. Two of these resemble the one at Cowlam, except being more in the form of an oval, or irregular square, and in having two entrance-passages each. The remaining four represent two other kinds, about which I may have something to communicate on some future occasion.

On the BHEEL TRIBES of the VINDHYAN RANGE.

By Colonel KINCAID.*

Designation of the several Castes.

THE designations of the several castes are very numerous, but they appear to be more used as a surname than to show any religious or social distinction. They cannot marry in their own caste, but only with those of another designation; the offspring, if any, bearing the surname of the father.

The castes are as follows :—

Busonia,	Bhooria,	Baondur.
Bundera,	Buloria,	Buria.
Bugaria,	Bularia,	Bhatia.
Burwuda,	Bakhla,	Bhabur.
Chowan,*	Charil,	Chudania.
Chunra,	Dabee,	Dadiar.
Dhamar,	Dowar,	Dangee.†
Dussana,‡	Gurawa,	Gawar.
Gorwal,	Kutara,	Kana.‡
Khar,‡	Kutaja,	Kunasia‡
Koomar,§	Kolee,	Doda.
Mukwana,‡	Mileewa,	Mukaria.‡
Mainda,‡	Muchar,	Mawee.
Moonia,	Minawa,	Mohunia.
Ossarie,‡	Purmal,	Phoolpoojar.
Pergie,	Pardee,¶	Kartwa.
Singar,**	Silote,‡	Soortana.
Soolee,	Umhar,	Ujna.

Rajpoot clan.

† Dangee—Boondela, a Rajput.

‡ All names of villages in the Bheel country.

§ Koomar, a Potter.

|| Phoolpoojar, lit. flower worship; Moonia (P) Manhihar—a Chûri or glass bracelet maker.

¶ A caste of hunters with nets.

** Singoria, a dresser of idols.

* Read November 11, 1879.

Descriptions of the Local Bheel Tribes.

The principal divisions, however, of the Bheels are hill and village tribes. The latter have lost much of the suspicion and fear with which they regarded the outer world, but they have gained the art of lying, of which the wilder tribes are quite ignorant; these always speak the truth when not rendered dumb by fear.

The Bheels living in villages inhabited by other tribes seldom comprise more than one or two families, who have sprung from a common ancestor, who, having been entertained as a Manker,* or tracer of thieves, had received a small grant of land, besides the right of levying dues on crops of others; in return, the Manker gives service to the village, by tracking robbers from his village, and taking up any such track brought by the manker of neighbouring villages, and either produces the robber, or carries the trace beyond his own boundary, in default of which, he, or the Bhomia who may be responsible, is held answerable for the stolen property.

Rules in force among the Bheels for tracing Stolen Property.

The person robbed gives immediate notice to Patail or Manker, and if at night, furnishes oil for torches; examination of the place is then made; when footprints are found, the Bheel Manker measures the length and breadth with small pieces of sticks; these footsteps are followed up till the next village boundary is reached, the person robbed and Patial accompanying him; at the boundary, the Patial and Manker of this village are summoned, to whom are delivered the pieces of sticks and the footmarks are shown; should any doubt be expressed, or the Manker of the new village wish it, he is taken back to the place whence the trace originally started, but otherwise he takes it up from his own boundary, and, if possible, traces it into another village, the owner and the Manker of the first village accompanying him to see if the traces are properly carried on. The owner should not leave till the trace is lost, or the thief caught; and the Manker should always go one village beyond his own to ensure the trace being properly carried on.

Should the farmers or grantees, &c., deprive the Manker or turvee of his tittle or wutten, he leaves the village at once, and returns to the tribes in the hills.

* Village guardian. The tracker in upper India is not the same individual as the village chokidar, or watchman, or village guardian, and every village does not possess a man with the necessary experience and qualifications.

Effects of Confiscation of their Rights on Village Bheels.

If every village Manker's rights were ensured, few would desert their charge, and the duty of tracing being properly performed, robberies of cattle would decrease.

Failure of crops invariably results in an increase in the number of robberies, and good crops in a diminution; the former evil may be arrested or averted by timely advances made by Government on the security of the Bhoomiahs, but it would require the strictest scrutiny to prevent the Bhoomiahs abusing the benevolence shown.

Evil Effects on Bheels of Debt.

In the Bhoomiah villages, the Mankers often borrow money from their Bhoomiahs (Bheelalah chief) pledging their rights for the year in payment; in the same way the cultivating Bheels forestall their crops, not only to their Bhoomiahs but to the "saukars" (money lenders), so that their labour is as nought; they reap no fruit therefrom, and they thus become careless, both in performance of their duties and the cultivation of their fields.

The Bheel occasionally lets himself out as a servant to liquidate his debt.

Their method of settling disputes is by assembling the whole of the Bheels of the two villages to which the disputants belong; the matter is then discussed as in Panchayat, and when they are agreed as to the sentence, one party pours a quantity of spirits into his opponent's hand, who, vowing if he ever quarrels on the point now settled, the curse of the deity, *mâtâ* or small-pox, may fall upon him, drinks it off, the other party going through the same ceremony.

The writer has never known an instance of a renewal of quarrel after the above detailed ceremony has been gone through; it is called "chak phirana."

Bheel Oaths and Ceremonies.

The Bheel believes the horse and dog accompanies him, if a good man, to the spirit world. He respects and prizes these animals much. I never could find out from them why they swore by the dog; in fact, they don't know. The dog is invaluable as a hunter and a protector.

There are some oaths and ceremonies which no Bheel will venture to break; one is swearing by the dog, the Bheel placing his hand on the head of the animal, prays that if what he says is not true, the curse of the dog may fall upon him.

Another is sworn by taking a small portion of Jowari grain into the hand and holding it up, praying that the Jowari he eats may bring curses and destruction upon him should he

speak aught but truth; another oath is by placing the hand on the head of a son.

In many instances when these oaths are made use of, written agreements are given by which the person swearing agrees that should any serious or extraordinary injury to himself or his family occur within a certain time he will consent to be held guilty; there are instances of the opposite party setting fire to the swearer's house, and then claiming a decision in his own favour, on account of loss occurring to the other.

The ordeals of plunging the hand into hot oil, and of holding hot iron in the hand, are also practised.

Superstitions.

When a Bheel starts on a journey on business, should he meet the bird called in Malwa "Sugoon Chiria," but by the Bheels "Dew kiria," should the bird be on the left hand, it is a propitious sign, and also if on the right hand on returning; if the bird cries out on both sides, the Bheel can go anywhere, but, if on the right, or in front, or behind, on setting out he cannot stir, but should he be compelled to go, he cuts a small turf, and placing it under a stone, he places both feet on it to deposit all fortune beneath it.

When a Bheel goes out to fight or rob, if the Byroo bird or roopa saikh is on his right hand, he will prosper and escape wounds, but if either of these birds appear on the left hand he will not go.

They believe strongly in witchcraft, and also in the power of the Burwas, or witch-finder, to point out who may be the witch who has inflicted the injury.

Should any person related die without apparent cause, they go to the witch-finder and inquire who caused their death; the witch-finder, a shrewd clever fellow, selects the most ugly, disagreeable old woman in the inquirer's village, and then proceeds, apparently oracularly, to describe the old witch, and when she is arrested, she is tried much as witches used to be in civilized England two hundred years ago; she is placed in one side of a bullock's pack-sack, and three cakes of dried cow-dung in the other side, and she is thrown in the water, when, if she sink, she is no witch, but if she swim she is.

Another mode is by rubbing cayenne pepper in the eyes, which in a witch has no power to produce tears.

A melancholy case of this occurred in the writer's experience, when an old Turvee Bheel, who had lost his son, went to a witch-finder, who pointed out an old woman in the village, and said that she had eaten his son; upon this he returned to his village, and with some other Bheels took the old woman down to the river side, and rubbed cayenne-pepper in her eyes,

and afterwards declaring she was a witch, knocked her on the head with a stone till she died.

The Bheels are very suspicious of their wives, and apparently not without reason, as two-thirds of their complaints have their origin in disputes about women, and they assign this weakness of the sex as a reason for never building their houses close together, but always some distance apart.

In former days, when a Bheel chief took a fancy to any woman, he simply carried her off, but this is not done now. A Bheel chief, however, has been known to come and ask for a *purwana* (written order) to run off with another man's wife, she being willing; his reason for making the request, was, that the government officer might be displeased with him for not asking leave.

Girls are married at about twelve years of age; there is no betrothal, other than that eight days previous to the marriage. Nor is there any rule about the bride's return to her own house, as amongst Hindoos.

The family of a boy who wish him to be married, having agreed upon the girl to be selected, go to her father's house with 20 rupees, of which $16\frac{1}{2}$ are given to the girl's family, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ to her sister; this must be always done on Sunday, and on no other day; agreement is then made as to date of marriage, and construction of marriage shed (*mundup*); on the day agreed upon, the girl's family gives a gift to that of the bridegroom of a *ghurra* of spirits, receiving a similar gift in return from the bridegroom's family; they then return to their house.

Seven days subsequently, on the following Saturday, the bridegroom's family and friends bring him home to the bride's house, the women singing, the men with naked swords in their hands, which they wave and dance in procession, beating tom-toms the while.

On Sunday at break of day they all go to the bride's house, a woman of the bridegroom's family waving a bamboo punkah or fan over his head, two Bheels of his party precede the procession to the bride's house; on arrival they inform the young woman's mother that the procession is at hand, who, thereupon presents them with a cup of ghee (boiled butter), sweetened with goor (unrefined sugar).

The members of the procession seat themselves under any tree or in any shade near or in the village, and at two hours after sunrise go and wash, when the bridegroom's sister or nearest female relation gives the party spirits to drink, and they eat bread made the day before. In the afternoon the procession goes to the bride's house in the same manner as the day before, and within the enclosure they seat themselves, the bridegroom touching the shed (*mundup*) with his sword.

The woman of the bride's family then takes the bridegroom to the bride's "mata" or tutelary deity, and having seated the bride and bridegroom on a log of wood, if a Brahmin be present he reads a "muntra," otherwise they all worship the deity together, and tie up one pice and a betel nut in the corner of the bride's "Sāru" (cloth) all returning to the mundup, when the Brahmin having prepared some flour and water, with ghee and sugar, offers it in a burnt sacrifice, the bride and bridegroom standing together on the log of wood; the brother of the bride clasps his hands and stands before them, placing sesamum seed and barley into their outstretched hands; at this juncture the Brahmin ties up a pice, and holds it out with a kerchief in an earthen lota, and gives to each a betel leaf, joining their hands with the leaf thereon; he then covers them over with a cloth, which marries them.

Seven times round the mundup shed do they then march hand-in-hand, an offering being burnt before them, and the lota with pice, etc., rattled.

The young bride's mother's brother unlooses their hands, and presents the bride with a cow, and the bride rubs the bridegroom's forehead with some of the aforesaid sweetened flour and water five times, he doing the same by her; this ceremony is called "kuss."

The bride's father then gives a copper "talū," a brass "lota," and a nose-ring to the bride and to his new son-in-law a red wrapper, and "pugree" (turban) to his brother; any article of clothing to his maternal uncle; 1 rupee 4 annas to the Brahmin, and their dues to the barber and wutundars.

The tomtoms now commence to beat, and the procession coming outside they worship the dust heap of the house, burying in it a pice and a betel nut.

The bride's brother is afterwards seated in the mundup on a cloth spread for him, with a brass plate in his hand; he invites the people to eat pawn, after which a Brahmin puts a red wafer (Tika) on their foreheads. The Bheel guests then all contribute money, according to their means, into the plate, of which the Brahmin gets 4 pice, the barber and bullai 2 pice; what is over the bride's brother keeps.

The whole party finish up by drinking together, men and women, and having eaten, the marriage procession takes the bride, tomtoms beat, swords wave, glees are sung, and dancing, jumping, and leaping, they go to the bridegroom's house, towards which the bride's family accompany them ten paces.

Bheelalahs.

The Bheelalah is a cross between a Bheel and a Rajpoot;

of this class are the Bheel chiefs of the Vindhyan range; they do not intermarry with Bheels, but only in their own caste.

Marriage Ceremonies of Bheelalabs.

The marriage ceremonies differ from those of the Bheels inasmuch as those of Bheelalabs are more formal; they are as follows:—

The Agreement.

The Betrothal.

The Wedding.

Agreement.

At first, four of the proposed bridegroom's family go to that of the bride's, and when they have agreed to the terms of the marriage, the bridegroom's family take two ghurras (earthen pot) of spirits, one of which they drink on the boundary of the bride's village, the other at her house; this is called the "kucha sugaie" and the spirits "kam soonane ka daroo" (literally, spirits making the business public).

The "pucka sugaie" is by the husband's family bringing two large ghurras and one small one of spirits, the latter they drink at the boundary, the former at the bride's house, and to her also are given at this time a cloth (petticoat) and two "cholics" (head cloths).

Ten days before the marriage the bride and bridegroom are both covered with turmeric; four days afterwards the bridegroom goes to the bride's village, where her relations conduct him to a house provided for him.

In the evening both parties eat together, and they then seat the bridegroom on horseback, and conduct him to the bride's house.

There a mundup or kind of shed is constructed, in which a ghurra filled with water and Jowarie (millet), is placed.

In front of this is a "turun" or post with cross pieces of wood, which the bridegroom touches with his sword and enters.

The bride is then brought out and seated opposite him, after which they go into the house, where a punkah is waved over the bride's head; a burnt offering is made of "til" (oil seed) and "jau" (ground barley) round which they march seven times, their clothes being tied together.

The night is spent in drinking and dancing. The husband and wife remain together, and in the morning he takes the bride to his own house.

The Bheels who have attended the wedding bury their

bows and arrows near the shed. A few days afterwards the father and mother of the bride take her back, when she remains with them a week, and then returns to her husband.

The "dag" or dowry given by the husband is 16½ rupees and by the bride, one thalee, one gold nose-ring, and one málá or necklace of small stones.

The Bheelalah woman does not make a second marriage, or "natras," though the Bheel woman may; but when she does, the man whom the widow marries must give two rupees or a ghurra of spirits, and six cattle to the family of her former husband.

If the husband die and his brother choose to marry his widow, she is not allowed to marry anyone else, but her brother-in-law may take her and all the property and children; the brother-in-law often gives her, willing or unwilling, to another, receiving a sum of money for so doing; and this is a fruitful source of quarrel when the woman refuses to be so made over.

This custom, however, does not appear to be sanctioned by caste usage.

Should a widow have no offspring, her husband's property is divided among his relations, but should she have a son, it is the proper custom that so long as she behaves herself and lives in her son's house, her brother-in-law cannot interfere.

Wives leaving their spouses subject their lovers to a fine of twelve cattle for a first, and six for a second marriage, and the gallant has to pay three for running away with a virgin.

The Bheels bury boys and maidens, and those who have died of small-pox. The corpses of all others are burnt.

Those who perform the funeral ceremonies are called the "Goosain Rawuls." Those of the Bheels who cannot afford special burial ceremonies, have the ceremonies of their dead performed by the Rawul on "Baisakh soodh poorneema," on which day the Rawul comes and plays the double guitar, and sings the praises of the deceased before his children, if he has left any, whereupon the father's spirit is supposed to enter his child's body and make known the manner of his death, what money is owed to him, and what he owes, and the heir is that child into which the father's spirit thus enters.

After inquiry, when the revelations are found to be correct, the heir gives a feast to his relatives, and presents a bullock to the Rawul.

The Bheel is very dirty in his habits, and never washes.

The principal diseases from which he suffers are enlarged spleen and small-pox. The latter disease he worships, or rather the spirit that brings the plague.

The policy of the Native states towards the Bheel has

always been overstrict rather than lenient or encouraging, for they look on the Bheel as an outcast, and utterly beyond their sympathy.

DISCUSSION.

MR. KEANE wished to know whether Colonel Kincaid had turned his attention to the wider question of the ethnical and linguistic affinities of the Bheel tribes. It would be interesting to know whether there was any foundation for the distinction often drawn between *Ujvala* (bright or fair), and *Kala* (black) Bheels, the former supposed to be half-castes, with Rajput blood, the latter to represent the true aboriginal stock. They were usually described as of a somewhat Mongoloid type, with slightly prominent cheek bones, long and lank hair, low height, but straight eyes, and speaking, besides the common medium Hindustani, a peculiar language, allied rather to the Kolerian than to the Dravidian or Neo-Sanskritic tongues. Could the Colonel throw any light on these points?

MR. WALHOUSE said:—I have no personal knowledge of the Bheels, my residence in India having been in regions far remote from the Vindhya. But the account of them just read, recalls in many particulars some races of Hindus far down in the south of the Peninsula. The *Kallar* on the borders of Tanjore, and the *Morravar* of Siraganga, and Ramnâd in the adjacent district of Madura, seem to bear a strong likeness to the Bheels. They are aboriginal races, black, thick-set and sturdy, hair inclined to be bushy: "*Kallar*" means robbers, and they by no means disown their profession or consider it discreditable; indeed, the caste ranks high amongst the Sudras, and they have a king, the Tondiman Raja, of ancient descent, and ruler of the Pudukottah State. Since the days of Clive, the Tondiman Raja has always been a faithful ally of the British, and often furnished us with reinforcements of his subject *Kallar*. The present well-educated and enlightened Raja receives a salute of twelve guns when visiting Madras. Unscrupulous as thieves, they are men of their word, and to this day are employed by the English residents of Trichinopoly to watch their bungalows, a trust they faithfully fulfil, and keep off all other thieves; should however, any theft be committed, they hold themselves responsible for it. Of old, they used to carry long spears with which they crept along the ground, and used with formidable effect in ambuscades, and were especially dreaded for killing and stealing horses in camps. Their skill in tracking equalled that of any savages, and they were wont to relate with pride their most daring and successful feats of robbery. Their ordeals and marriage customs, I believe, agree generally with those of the Bheels, but I am unable to give precise details. They are now fast becoming peaceable cultivators. Like the Bheels, and indeed all Hindus, they live in continual dread of witchcraft and

sorcery, and are too often driven to cruel deeds in revenge for supposed injuries.

The PRESIDENT remarked on the prevalence of the Hindu element in Bheel civilisation, as shown by such special points as witch-ducking, and swearing on the son's head. He asked for further information as to the meaning of the names of Bheel tribes or clans, with the view of ascertaining whether any of them are names of animals or plants, that is, what are commonly called "totems."

Colonel KINCAID, in reply, said: I have found the village Bheels fairer than the hill tribes, probably attributable to less sun exposure, the type being everywhere the same as Mr. Keane describes: mongoloid, lank hair, prominent cheek bones, straight eyes, short and sturdy, with remarkably well developed calves—a great contrast to the Hindoo. The wild Bheel, after enlisting in the Bheel regiments, undergoes a remarkable change in appearance. After a year or two he loses the wild look in his eyes and becomes several shades fairer; but never loses his keen sense as a hunter or tracker, and is therefore a valuable soldier for local service. The Bheels all speak among themselves a peculiar language, of which I had collected a vocabulary, but which I left in India, from whence I will forward it. I do not believe the language to be allied to the Dravidian. I will also forward translations of the tribal names. I believe some are names of animals and plants.

The ETHNOLOGY of GERMANY.—PART IV.

THE SAXONS OF NETHER SAXONY.

Section II.

By H. H. HOWORTH, Esq., F.S.A.

THE ethnology of Germany has been so assiduously worked out by Germans that it would seem as if little or nothing remained for a gleaner to collect, nor is there much if we follow the beaten track and resift the same authorities which have been thrashed out for generations. If we are to do original and fertile work in this inquiry we must go far a-field and dig into obscure corners and collect forgotten details. I believe that by doing so much fresh matter may yet be gained, as I trust the following paper will show. In it I think I have shown conclusively on historical grounds what I have already concluded from other considerations—that the Saxons were not the indigines of Nether Saxony, but were as much invaders there as in Britain; that they probably did not occupy that area until the 6th century A.D.; and that the previous inhabitants were the Thuringians. These results will be acknowledged to be important if proved,

and in order to prove them I have collected all the notices I could find of these Saxons down to the date of their incorporation by Charles the Great, so as to make the monograph as perfect as possible.

We will begin with the native traditions of Saxony.

The earliest native notice we have of the native traditions of the peopling of Nether Saxony is in the account of the translation of Saint Alexander, which was written, according to Pertz, about the year 863. There we read: "The Saxon race, as is reported from old times, left the Angles who dwelt in Britain, and navigating the ocean in search of a place to settle in, was thrown on to the coasts of Germany in the district called Haduloha (*i.e.* Hadeln) at the time when Theodoric, the King of the Franks, fighting against his relative Irminfred, the chief of the Thuringians, cruelly ravaged their land with fire and sword. When two battles had already been fought and Theodoric began to despair of victory, he sent envoys to the Saxons, whose chief was called Hadugot. Theodoric, having learnt the cause of their arrival, promised in case he was victorious to grant them a settlement, and they thereupon joined their forces to his. Fighting for liberty and for their homes they showed great valour, and the enemy was almost exterminated. Theodoric carried out his promise and gave the Saxons the land conquered from the Thuringians. This they divided by lot. As they were too few to occupy it all, they set aside the eastern portion, which was allowed to be occupied by 'Coloni,' who paid tribute; the rest of the land they occupied themselves" (Pertz, ii, 674).

This tradition I see no reason myself to question. The district of Hadeln is the only part of the coast where the Frisic inhabitants were displaced by another race, namely, the Platt Deutsch-speaking folk. It would be the very place where one would, *primâ facie*, first bring invaders who meant to appropriate the valley of the Weser. In regard to the date of their arrival it is very extraordinary that the first mention of the district of Nether Saxony made by Gregory of Tours, whose narrative was not, so far as we can see, known to the author of the "*Vita Alexandri*" just quoted, describes how *Theodoric* and Chlothaire, the sons of Chlovis, were engaged in a struggle there with Irminfred, the chief of the Thuringians in the year 528 ("Gregory of Tours," ed. Guizot, i, 131-134). On turning to the traditions of the Thuringians we find that they also speak of their people having been driven out of their old seats by the Saxons. Thus in the "*Chronicon Thuringiæ, incerto auctore apud Christ. Schoettgen, Diplomata et Scriptores Hist. Germ.*" etc., i, 85 *seq.*, we read: "In den Geczyten also dy Sachs in dy Doringe vortrêbin von der sehe, do sy vor wonetin, obir den Harz in dit Land, das nu Doringen

genannt ist." Again, in "Sagittarii Antiq. Thuring." 97 seq.: "Es ist aber eine gemeine Sage und alte Tradition, die auch ihren grund haben kann (wenn es auch nicht damit hergegangen, wie Wittehind erzählt) das nemlich die Thüringer aus ihren alten Sitzen in diese Oberländer wären vertrieben worden." Again, in the Rhythm. Sti. Annoni ap, Schilter, i. 1. t. 1, stroph xxi:

"Vuzier ein deil mit Scifmeningen
Quamin nidir cir Eilbin
Da die Düringe dū Sazin
Und sich wider ün vermazin."

I owe these very suggestive and valuable extracts to a treatise by M. Möller, entitled "Saxones, Commentatio Historica" (Berlin, 1830, note 43).

The tradition also gains much strength from the fact of its being widely disseminated at an early time; thus we find Adam of Bremen quoting Eginhardt, who wrote before the author of the "Vita Alexandri" and saying: "Saxonum gens, inquit (Eginhardus), sicut tradit antiquitas, ab Anglis Britannisque incolis egressa, per oceanum navigans Germaniæ littoribus studio et necessitate quærendarum sedium appulsa est in loco, qui vocatur Hatheloe." . . . Hæc tulimus excerpta ex scriptis Einhardi (Möller, *op. cit.*, note 18).

The tradition again appears in the narrative of Widukind, the monk of Corbey, who lived in the middle of the 10th century, with sufficient variation to show that it had an independent origin.

After stating that some derived the Saxons from the Danes and Northmen, others from the Macedonians, etc., he tells us we only know for certain that the Saxons came here in ships and first landed in Hadeln, but they did not leave their ships which were on the river bank.

He says that one of their young men having landed from his ship with some gold ornaments, including a golden torq and armlets, he met one of the Thuringians. "What are you doing," said the latter, "with such a massive gold object about your scraggy neck?" "I am seeking a purchaser," he said, "this is why I am wearing it." "How can gold delight one who is in danger of famishing?" The Thuringian thereupon asked its value. "I am not a judge of its value," said the Saxon. "Whatever you give me I will gladly accept." "What," said he, laughingly, "if I were to give you a lap-full of this soil?" soil being scarce in the place. The Saxon without hesitation opened his garment and accepted the soil, while the Thuringian took his gold and both returned gladly home.

The Thuringians praised their countryman to the sky and deemed him most fortunate in securing so much gold for such

little value. Meanwhile the Saxon repaired to the ships; some of his companions chided, some laughed, while all deemed him very foolish. "Follow me," he replied, "and see whether I have been so foolish." They followed their leader, who proceeded to sprinkle the soil thinly over the adjoining fields, which they then occupied as their own and fortified. The Thuringians seeing this, sent envoys to complain of the Saxons breaking their pact. They replied they had not broken the pact and had bought the ground with gold and were willing either to keep it peaceably or to defend it with arms. The Thuringians thereupon rushed wildly upon the fortifications and were defeated. The fight was renewed several times, and at length a truce was agreed upon, but at the meeting to arrange the peace, the Saxons produced their knives from under their garments and slaughtered the unsuspecting Thuringians. Witikind tells us the Saxons were accustomed to use long knives, such, he says, as the Angles (*i.e.*, the English) still use; and adds, that his people (the Saxons) called a knife "*sahs*," and thence derived their name. Schatin says the people of Saterland still call a knife "*sachs*." Nennius reports that when Hengist gave the signal to his men to fall upon the Britons, he cried out "*En Saxones nimes eure saxes*," which he translates "*cultellos vestros de siconibus vestris deducite*" (Mon. Hist. Britt., 69 and 70). It will be noted that Nennius calls the followers of Hengist, Saxones. He seems to know nothing of Jutes. In the same way the Welsh seem to have called all the invaders Sassesach, and so call English people to this day.

But to revert to the etymology of the name. Gregory of Tours has the phrase: "*Tunc duo pueri cum cultris validis, quos vulgo scramsaxos vocant, infectis veneno maleficati a Fredegunde regina*" (Möller, "*Saxones Commentatio*," etc., 4, note 12). Möller gives another ancient citation from "*Gobelinus Cosmodrom*," vol. v, ch. 1: "*Apud nos senioribus novacula qua pili raduntur dicitur: sasx et inde verbum vulgare videlicet sassen, i.e., novacula cæsariem radere.*" (*Id.*)

Lipsius gives Scharsaxnovacula, as a gloss from a very ancient Latino-German psalter, and Lindenbrog, Schersaxnovacula (*id.*, note 13). Among the Danes, according to Möller, a pair of shears is still called "*sachs*."

Godfred of Viterbo, quoted by Pistor, Script. Germ., ii, 253, has:

"*ipse brevis gladius apud illos saxo vocatur,
unde sibi Saxo nomen peperisse notatur.*"

In the Annolied, Schilter, Thes. Ant. Teut i, stroph xxi:

"Ciu Duringin duo der siddi was
 das si mihhili mezzir hiezin sahs,
 der di rekkin manigis druogin
 damidi si die Duringe sluogin
 mit untruwin ceinir sprachin
 die ci vridin si gelobit havitin
 von den mezzerin also wahsin
 wurdin si geheizen Sahsin."

(Möller, *op. cit.*, note 15, Grimm "Deutschen Sprache," i, 425.)

I have small doubt myself that this is the correct etymology of Saxon. The use of a *short sword*, or knife, distinguished the Saxons from other tribes who used long swords, as, for example, the Cimbri, who, according to Plutarch ("Vita Marii" 6), used long swords (Möller, *op. cit.*, 5, note 16). Like most other races, the Saxons had an eponymos, who appears at the head of the genealogy of the East Saxons in Britain under the form of Seaxneat, the son of Wodin, the old Norse Saxnaut, old German Sahsnöz, Gothic Sahsanauts, which name Grimm explains as the Sword God, the God of War, and after whom he argues that the special followers and worshippers of the god called themselves (*op. cit.*, i, 425). We must now return again to Widukind of Corbey and his narrative.

Widukind goes on to say, that on the death of Hugo, King of the Franks, he left an only daughter named Amalberga, who was married to Irminfred, King of the Thuringians. The Franks, however, put Theodoric, who was born of a concubine, on the throne, and he sent an embassy to his brother-in-law with the news. The latter would have assented, but his wife, instigated by a man named Iring, apparently her lover, persuaded him, against the counsel of his grandees, that it would be unworthy of him to allow a mere slave to usurp the throne of the Franks. A message to this effect was accordingly returned, and Theodoric marched against him. The battle was fought at Rumberg (*i.e.*, Ronnenberg, in the district of Marsten, not far from Hanover). It lasted three days, when Irminfred and his people fled to a place called Scithingi (*i.e.*, the modern Burg-Scheidungen), upon the River Unstrode. The victory had been dearly bought, and Theodoric called a council to decide whether they should retire or stay. It was decided that it would be dangerous to retire, since they were much weakened, and that it was better to stay. He therefore determined to remain, and to send an invitation to the Saxons, the former foes of the Thuringians, asking their aid, promising them if they succeeded and captured the town of Irminfred, to make over the land to them. The Saxons were nothing loth, and sent nine of their chiefs with several thousand men. Leaving the bulk of their people outside, and escorted by some hundreds, they entered Theodoric's camp. These, said they,

had been sent by the Saxon people, and were ready to do his bidding; either to defeat his enemies, or if fortune should be against them, to die for him, and that with the Saxons the only wish was to conquer or to die. The Franks were much pleased with the martial qualities of their guests, who, we are told, were big of stature, and had their broad shoulders covered with hair. They wore woollen mantles, were armed with long lances, were protected by small shields, and carried long knives at their side. There were some who feared that they would become dangerous neighbours to the Franks. Theodoric accepted their aid, and the following day they stormed and burnt the town. A terrible battle ensued, without any definite result, and we are told that in it many of the Thuringians were killed and many wounded, while 6,000 of the Saxons perished. Irminfred then sent Iring, together with his treasures, to Theodoric, to offer his submission and sue for peace, and begging in abject terms for pity. "Your former relative, now your slave, sends to you," was the message; "if you have no pity for him, pity your sister, and your nephews and nieces." The envoys also warned him not to trust in the Saxons, who were indomitable in war, but to drive them away in time, and to ally himself with the Thuringians. Theodoric was moved by this address, and promised on the following day to receive his kinsman, and to cast off the Saxons. Iring was full of gratitude, and sent a messenger to tell his master of what had happened. Meanwhile, the city being once more at peace, there issued from it a person with a falcon, who wandered along the bank, seeking for game. Having let the bird fly, it was captured by a Saxon who was on the further bank, and who refused to return it. "Give it me," he said, "and I will divulge a secret to you, which will be useful to you and your people." "Speak," said the Saxon, "and you shall receive back what you are looking for." "The kings," he said, "have made a pact with one another. If to-morrow you enter the camp you will be captured or killed." "Surely," he said, "you are joking." "To-morrow will prove it, and you will see there is no sport in what I say; you had better seek safety in flight." The Saxon then returned the falcon, and told his companions (who were at a loss to know what to do) what he had heard. There was then among them an old soldier, who from his virtues was known as the father of his country: his name was Hathagot. Taking up the sacred standard, which consisted of the figures of a lion and a dragon, above which was a flying eagle, and signifying strength, prudence, etc., he addressed them, saying: "Hitherto I have lived among the best of the Saxons, and although an old man, I never saw the Saxons take flight, and yet I know not how to act now. One thing I know—I will

not fly. If fate so decrees it, it will be very grateful to me to fall with my friends. It is better to die surrounded by our friends than to be vanquished; to lose our lives rather than give way before the enemy. But why should I enlarge on contempt for death. We shall go securely; we shall attend a carnage, not a battle. Our enemies do not suspect that we know of their intrigue. To-day, weary with battle, they will be careless of security, and have no guards posted. Let us fall on them unawares, and when they are asleep. Follow me as your leader, and cut off this head of mine like a dog's, if it come not about as I say." Assenting gladly, they spent the rest of the day in preparation, and in the first vigil of the night, when men sleep most heavily, they climbed the walls, and entered the town. There, there was a panic; some fled hither and thither; and some, treating the Saxons as friends, joined them, but the latter killed all who were grown up, reserving the young people for slavery. A terrible slaughter it was. Irminfred, with his wife and sons and a few of the chief of the nobility, however, escaped. The victors then built a temple, planted the eagle at its eastern end, and having built an altar they raised a statue to Mars, which they fashioned in the shape of Hercules, in the place of the sun, whom the Greeks call Apollo (*loco solem*). This god they called Hermin, and Widukind compares his name with the Greek Hermes. For three days they feasted and rejoiced, and divided the booty, nor did they fail to laud the leader to whose sagacity they owed their success. This victory was afterwards celebrated on the 24th of October. Its result was, that Theodoric granted the Saxons their land, and they were styled the companions and friends of the Franks. Irminfred, after the capture of his city, sent Iring to Theodoric, to make terms. The latter urged him to assassinate his master, promising to reward him handsomely.

He undertook the duty, and while Irminfred was prostrating himself before Theodoric, he took the opportunity of decapitating him. Theodoric then reviled him, told him it was a base deed thus to slay his master, and that he was free to depart where he would, but he himself would have no part in the business. "I have earned the contempt of all men," replied Iring, "in that I have been the instrument of completing your crime; before I leave, however, I will purge myself by revenging my master." And he plunged the reeking sword in the body of Theodoric, who fell over the corpse of Irminfred (Pertz, iii, 423 and 424).

The narrative of Widukind is apparently derived from old songs or traditions, and seems to me to be very worthy of credit; we find it confirmed elsewhere. Thus the first part of the story is found also in the "*Annales Quedlinburgenses*," and there the mistakes of Widukind are corrected. As this fact seems to be

unknown to any of our writers it will not be amiss to transcribe the account there found. We are told then that in the year 532 Hugo Theodoric, the son of Chlovis by a concubine, on succeeding to the throne invited Irminfred, the King of the Thuringians, to his election. Theodoric, says this authority, was called Hugo, as all the Franks were styled Hugones, from a certain leader named Hugo. He was a great favourite with his father, and although a bastard was given an equal share in the division of the kingdom with his brothers Chlodimir, Hildebert, and Lothaire. "Irminfred" says this account, "urged on by his wife Amelpurga, refused the invitation, saying scornfully that Theodoric ought to be his wife's slave (Amalberga was the daughter of Chlovis, *sic* Witikind) rather than his king or master. 'Let him come first,' he said, 'with a large heap of money that he may buy his freedom from my wife, who was noble born by both parents.'" Theodoric was much enraged at this answer, and his grievance was shared by the Franks. "I will come," he replied, "as he bids me, and if my gold will not suffice to buy me liberty I will give thee an innumerable number of Thuringian and Frankish heads." Having accordingly assembled his army, he marched into the district of Maerstem (*i.e.*, the province in which Hanover is situated) and there defeated Irminfred with great slaughter. Following him up as far as the Ocker, he fought a second battle near Orheim, where he was again beaten, and where Theodoric, on account of his losses, deemed himself too weak to pursue him. But hearing that the Saxons, whose world-wide fame had reached him, had arrived in Hadeloha, he sent to ask for their aid and promised them and their twelve chiefs that if they overcame the Thuringians he would surrender to them all the land as far as the junction of the rivers Sala and Unstrode. The Saxons accordingly attacked the Thuringians, defeated them on the Unstrode, and then captured the town of Schiding (doubtless the place called Schenighe, *ad an.* 784), but Irminfred, with his wife and sons, and one named Iring, escaped.

Theodoric thereupon granted the Saxons all the Thuringian land, except Luvia (What is meant by this? Pertz suggests that the mountains of Southern Thuringia are meant) and the Hartz mountains without the payment of tribute. He commanded, however, the Thuringians who survived to pay the king a tribute of pigs. After this Theodoric basely ordered Irminfred to be put to death in Zulpiach (Pertz, iii, 31 and 32). This account and that of Witikind vary so much in their details that they are clearly not copies one from the other, and are evidently taken from a common ancient source, probably from some ancient poem, as Pertz suggests (*op. cit.*, iii, 424, note

25); and as Widukind himself hints in his phrase: "Si qua fides his dictis adhibeatur penes lectorem est. Mirari tamen non possumus in tantum famam prævaluisse, ut Iringis nomine, quem ita vocitant, lacteus cœli circulus usque in præsens ut notatus" (*op. cit.*, lib. 1, c. 13). It would be difficult to support any story of the 6th century by so much concurrent testimony as that here adduced for the colonisation of Nether Saxony; not only have we the independent witnesses of the author of the "Translatio Sti. Alexandri," of Widukind of the "Annales Quedlinburgenses," and of the correlative traditions of the Thuringians, but the whole story is in accord with the Frankish notices. There are some mistakes of detail, but they are such as rather confirm the *bonâ fides* of the narrative, as do the mention of other details which we can confirm; thus in regard to Theodoric having been the son of a concubine, the fact is attested by Gregory of Tours (ed. Guizot i, 97). He also attests the fact that the wife of Irminfred, the King of the Thuringians, was called Amalberga (*id.* i, 127), and that she was a truculent person and sowed discord in the Royal Family of Thuringia. He also tells us that a strife arose between Irminfred and Theodoric, and of the war which ensued between them; of the defeat of the former and of his suspicious death (*id.* i, 131-135). Amalberga does not seem, however, to have been a daughter of Chlovis but the niece of Theodoric, the King of the Goths (Jornandes, ch. 58; Procopius, i, 14 and 15. Pertz' notes to "Annales Quedlinburgenses"), and it may well be that *her* father was named Hugo. But the best confirmation of the story is to be found in the laws and institutions of the Saxons. We find their community, as I shall show further on, divided into four classes, namely, the Ethelings or nobles, freemen, liti, and slaves. These liti were clearly very different to slaves, and an important *wergild* is assigned for offences against them. They were again on a lower footing to the Saxon freemen, and I have no doubt, as has been suggested by Mr. Stubbs, that they represent the coloni mentioned in the account of the "Translatio Sti. Alexandri," *i.e.*, the conquered Thuringians (*see* Stubbs's "English Constitution," 46, note 5). I have small doubt, therefore, that the Saxons invaded the Weser Valley about the time of the reign of Theodoric, and that before their arrival the greater part of Nether Saxony was occupied by the Thuringians. Whence did they come? The tradition already recited from the translation of Saint Alexander makes them emigrants from Britain. This is hardly admissible, but the mistake is very easily explained if they came from the Eastern Angeln and not from the Western England, and if one has been by mistake written for the other. Now it is very curious that

in almost the first contemporary notice of the Saxons in Nether Saxony they are called Jutian Saxons. This occurs in a letter addressed by the Frank King, Theodebert, the son of Theodoric (534-548) addressed to the Emperor Justinian, in which he describes some of the conquests of the Franks: "Subactis Thuringis . . . Wisigothis . . . cum Saxonibus Euciis (Eutiis) qui se nobis voluntate propria tradiderunt usque in oceani litoribus, custodiente Deo, dominatio nostra porrigitur" (Zeuss, 387).

This calling of the Saxons Jutes points to their having come from the Cimbric Chersonese, like the Angles, their compatriots, who were making about this very time their descents upon the English coast. Now Dahlmann, the historian of Denmark, has made the judicious suggestion that the cause of the migration of the Angles was the arrival of the Danes. It is curious that a very few years before the incidents already recited from the war between Theodoric and Irminfred took place, that we first meet with the Danes in the Frank chronicles. This was in the year 515. We are told the Danes went by sea to the Gauls with their King Chlochilaich (*i.e.*, Haveloc), and having landed they ravaged some of the land of Theodoric, making slaves of the inhabitants and carrying off much booty to their ships. They were about to return home with their king, who was the last to embark, when Theodoric sent his son Theodebert with an army. The Danish king was killed, the Danes were beaten in a naval fight, and the booty they had made was recaptured ("Gregory of Tours," ed. Guizot, i, 126 and 127). It is very probable that the onward movement of the Danes and the subsequent settlement of the Nether Saxons were not unconnected, and that the latter people, like the Angles, were pushed out of their old quarters in Jutland by the new comers, the Scandinavians or Norse people, who now appear for the first time. I see no reason to doubt this, and it at once explains their migration and points also to whence it came from.

It would seem that for some time the Saxons were confined chiefly to the Weser Valley, and it was on the Weser that their early struggles with the Franks chiefly took place. Theodebert died in the year 547, and was succeeded by his sickly son Theodebald, who died in 553, and he in turn was succeeded by his great uncle Chlothaire, known as Chlothaire the First. The change of rulers had apparently induced the Saxons to revolt, and we are told Chlothaire marched against them and destroyed a great number of them. He also severely punished the Thuringians for having assisted them ("Gregory of Tours," i, 177). This was apparently in 554. Shortly after, the Saxons having remained obdurate and refusing to pay tribute, he again marched against

them. When he arrived on their frontier they addressed him, saying: "We do not defy you, nor do we refuse to pay you the tribute we paid to your brothers and nephews. We will do so if you demand it, but we ask you to leave us alone in peace." He was satisfied with these words, but his followers insisted that the Saxons were liars, who ever broke faith. The Saxons returned and offered one-half of what they possessed, but in vain; they then offered their clothes, their herds, and all they possessed, saying: "Take these things, and also one-half of our lands, only leave our wives and children free, and do not attack us." Chlothaire would have readily listened to them, but his people would not hear of it, and even ill-used him and threatened to kill him if he refused to march at their head against them. In the fight which ensued there was a terrible carnage, and the Franks were beaten and constrained to beg for peace (*id.*, 184-186). Chramn, Chlothaire's son, now proved rebellious, and took refuge with Childebert, Chlothaire's brother. The latter incited the Saxons to invade the Frankish territory. They accordingly marched as far as Deutz, opposite Cologne, and committed great ravages there (*id.*, 191). This was apparently about the year 555; Chlothaire afterwards succeeded in reducing the Saxons once more to obedience, and imposed upon them a tribute of 500 cows (Möller, *op. cit.*, 36, note 93).

Chlothaire's empire was divided among his four sons. During their reign the war with the Saxons continued. On the part of the Franks it was doubtless largely a defensive war, for the Saxons were very aggressive. They now seem to have appropriated the northern part of Thuringia, included in Ostphalia. We read in the panegyrics of the poet Fortunatus, how Lupus, the general of Sigebert, fought against the *Danes* and Saxons, and drove them from the Wapper to the Lahn (Perry's "History of the Franks," 130). This mention of the Danes is remarkably coincident with the migration of the Angles from Schleswig, to which I hope to refer in another paper. The Merovingian empire was now the scene of terrible civil strife, which was the natural opportunity of the Saxons. The annalists of the empire, as Möller says, when they mention the Saxons, generally as under the year 602, report battles in which there was not much victory to boast of (*op. cit.*, 36, note 95). At length we find the Frank Empire once more united in one hand, namely, that of Chlothaire II. It was during his reign, and in the year 622, that the Saxons prepared for another great invasion of the Frank territory. Chlothaire's young son, Dagobert, had been appointed King of Austrasia. We are told the Saxons marched against him, whereupon he crossed the Rhine to meet them. In the battle which followed, Dagobert was struck on the head, and a

portion of his hair was cut off. Picking it up, he gave it to his knight (armiger) and bade him go to his father with it, and summon him to his assistance. The messenger found Chlothaire in the Ardennes, whence he hastened to the assistance of his son. They joined their forces and encamped on the banks of the Weser. Berthoald, the Saxon chief, was beyond the river, and ready either to fight or to make peace; Chlothaire, mounted on a swift horse, entered the River Weser, and was imitated by Berthoald, while the Franks followed at the heels of their king. "Retire," said Berthoald, "for if you defeat me, people will only say you have beaten your slave Berthoald, while if I win the victory, they will say everywhere that the mighty king of the Franks has been killed by his slave;" but Chlothaire, clad in his armour feared not, rushed at his foe, cut off the head of Berthoald, and held it aloft. The Saxons were defeated, their land laid waste, and those of the male sex who were grown up were slaughtered. Chlothaire then returned home again (*Gesta Reg. Francorum* Bouquet ii, 567-568, and 583. Reginon, ad an. 572; Pertz, i, 551, Möller, *op. cit.*, 37). Such was the barbarous warfare carried on between the two rival and mutually bitter races. The Saxons were again reduced to pay tribute. Ten years later, Dagobert, who had succeeded his father, remitted the tribute of 500 cows on consideration that the Saxons would protect the eastern frontier of the empire from the Slaves, who were continually threatening it. A pact, we are told, was sworn by the Saxon chiefs, on a number of arms, as was their wont (*Fredegar*, Bouquet ii, 441). Under the year 635, we find a Saxon chief named Agino fighting in the Frankish army against the Vases or Gascons (*Fredegar*, Möller, note 98).

Chlovis, Dagobert's son, we are told, married a Saxon named Bathildis (Möller, *op. cit.*, 38, note 99).

The empire was now rapidly growing weaker, and the Saxons gradually pushed their borders further west towards the Rhine, nor were they more than temporarily checked by the campaigns fought against them in 687 and 691 by Pepin of Heristal, the Mayor of the Palace to the *roi fainéant*, Theodoric III. It was probably, as Möller says, at this time that the three Saxon divisions of Westphalia, Engern, and Eastphalia arose.

Pepin of Heristal and Dagobert III. died in the year 715, and the former was succeeded as Mayor of the Palace by Charles Martel, his bastard son. His accession was a stormy one, and the Saxons took advantage of matters to invade the districts inhabited by the Hattuarii, within the Frankish empire. These districts they ravaged and advanced as far as the Rhine (Möller, 39, note 101; Pertz, i, 6, 7).

In 718, Charles Martel marched to punish them. They with-

drew behind the Weser, and he proceeded to devastate their country terribly; there is a grim completeness about the phrases of the Annalist: "Eorumque terra usque ad Viseram fluvium incendiis, rapinis, interfectionibus attrita est" (Chron. Fontan. Bouq. ii, 659). He repeated his attacks in the years 720, 722, 725, and 738, each time apparently harrying the Saxon land, while the Saxons themselves escaped with little hurt, save the loss of their property (Möller, 40, note 103). Their real strongholds beyond the Weser remained untouched, and that river formed a defence which Charles did not venture to cross.

The war was again renewed in 737, after he had acquired his surname of Martel in his struggle with the Saracens in Spain, when the Saxons having been again troublesome he advanced along the Lippe, and compelled them to pay tribute, and to give hostages (Fredegar, Bouquet ii, 456). The peace which was thus exacted was maintained until his death in the year 741.

The dominions of Charles Martel were divided between his sons Carloman and Pepin, and we again find the Saxons turbulent. They were clearly still widening their borders, and we are told they made an attack upon Thuringia. Carloman sent an army against them, which was accompanied by Geroldus, the Bishop of Mayence, who was killed in the battle which ensued (Vitæ Sti Bonifacii ab Othlone, acta Sanctorum, ord. S. Bened. 2, Sæc. III, p. 28; Möller, 41). This was in 743. In the struggle which Carloman had the same year with the Bavarians, we read that he was assailed by the Saxons, Alemanni, and Slaves (Möller, *op. cit.*, 41). Having subdued the Bavarian duke, Carloman marched against the Saxons and captured their fortress of Hochseburgium (the modern Asseburg, near Wolfenbüttel; Möller, *id.*). He advanced as far as the Weser, subduing the Saxons on the route. Theodoric, one of the Saxon chiefs, was surrendered as a hostage, and having sworn obedience was released (Annales Laur. and Einhardt, ad an. 743; Pertz, i, 134 and 135; Annales Mett., *id.* 327; Reginon, ed. 555; Möller, 41).

In 744, Theodoric again rebelled. Carloman and his brother Pepin again marched against him, and compelled him to submit with many of his people, many of whom were again baptised (Annal. Laur. and Einhardt, ad an. 744, etc. Appendix ad Gest. Franc., p. 573; Möller, 42). In 747, Carloman resigned his power and retired to Italy, and Pepin remained sole Mayor of the Palace. He was an imperious person, and we find that in the same year Gripho, a natural son of Charles Martel, fled from him with a body of troops, and having been joined by a number of Saxons collected his forces on the river Ocker, near Orheim. Pepin marched against him and traversed that part of

Thuringia occupied by the Nord-Suevi, *i.e.*, the eastern part of Ostfalen, where he was joined by a great body of Slaves, and encamped at Schoening in Brunswick (Ann. Laur. and Einhardt, ad ann. App. ad gest, r. F. Bouquet ii, 575; Möller, 43). Hochseburg was again taken, and Theodoric for the third time captured, while the submission of the Saxons who lived next the Suevi was accepted. Pepin then marched to the Ocker, where, by the intervention of the Saxon chiefs, a peace was arranged. A number of the Saxons were again baptized, while Gripho, who suspected his Saxon friends, fled to Bavaria. The Saxons were not long in again rebelling and relapsing into paganism, and we find Pepin again marching against them in 753. A terrible battle was fought at Iburg, in the diocese of Osnaburgh, in which Hildegard, the Archbishop of Cologne, was killed (Annal. Laur. and Einhardt, ad an. 753, Pertz, i, 138 and 139. Ledebur Krit. Beleucht., etc., 58). The Franks were, however, victorious, and advanced as far as Remen on the Weser, near Minden, compelled the Saxons to give hostages, and also insisted that their missionaries should have full liberty to spread the faith in Saxony and to baptize (Möller, 44, and note 113).

Pepin had to return once more to Saxony in 758; there he advanced as far as Sithen, between Dülmen and Haltern on the Stever, or perhaps, as Pertz thinks, as far as the River Sende. He defeated the Saxons, captured several of their fortifications, compelled them to pay an annual tribute of 300 horses, and subdued their country as far as the Weser (Annal. Laur. and Einhardt, ad ann. 758; Möller, 45). We are told the terms of the peace were ratified "*more Saxonico*" (Annales Einhardt, Pertz, i, 141).

This peace was more lasting, and we do not hear that Pepin fought again with the Saxons during his reign, which ended in 768. Pepin left his kingdom to his two sons, Carloman and Charles, the former of whom died in 771, leaving his brother sole King of the Franks. He had a great desire to convert his pagan neighbours, the Saxons, and also to widen the borders of his kingdom, and accordingly commenced a very unjustifiable campaign against them. It was determined, we are told, at a diet held at Worms in 772, to make an attack upon the Saxons. Crossing the Rhine, Charles attacked their stronghold of Ehresburgh (probably the modern Stadtberge on the Diemel). This was captured, as was also the pagan sanctuary of Irminsul, which was destroyed. Ledebur places this among the mountains of Osning and Egge, between the towns of Horn, Lippspring, Dringenberg, and Driburgh, among well watered valleys (Möller, *op cit.*, 74, note 118).

During three days that the Franks were encamped there

there was a very intolerable heat, and the springs became dried up; but according to the chronicles a torrent miraculously burst forth, and the army was relieved. The matter-of-fact Ledebur identifies this torrent with a spring called Bullerborn, near Altenbecken, which is intermittent, flowing for six hours, and then drying up for a similar time (*id.*, note 118). Charles now set out for the Weser, and persuaded the Saxon chiefs and grandees there to allow Christianity to be taught within their borders, and also received twelve hostages from them. The tribute which they had formerly paid was apparently not insisted upon, inasmuch as it is not mentioned (*Annales Laur. and Annales Einhardti*, Pertz, i, 150 and 151). He then returned home, and set out, at the invitation of Pope Hadrian, to assist him against Desiderius and his Lombards. When the Saxons heard that he had gone so far away, mindful of their ancient liberties, and incited by those who were still pagans, they drove out the Christian priests and invaded the district of the Hattuarii, by which no doubt the modern Gau of Hatterun is meant. This invasion took place in 715, and was doubtless connected with the dispersion of the Boruchtuarii, to which Bede refers in the following passage. Speaking of Saint Suidbert he says: "Non multo post ad gentem Boructuarorum secessit, ac multos eorum prædicando ad viam veritatis perduxat. Sed expugnatis non longo post tempore Boructuariis a gente antiquorum Saxonum dispersi sunt quolibet hi, qui verbum receperant" (*Mon. Hist. Britt.* 259). These Boruchtuarii were doubtless the inhabitants of the Gau of Borohtra, between the Lippe and the Ruhr, and we thus get a date for the Saxon conquest of the southern part of Westphalia.

They tried fruitlessly to capture the fortress of Buriaburg (now represented by Mount Bierberg, on the right of the Eder), and also tried in vain to destroy the church of Fridislar, close by, which had been consecrated by Saint Boniface, who had prophesied it could not be burnt. The former, according to the annalists, was protected by the arrival of an army of the indigenes, the latter by two angels. Meanwhile, Charles having destroyed the Lombard kingdom, had returned to Ingelheim, and there heard how the Saxons were ravaging the Hessian gau. He sent four armies against them; three of them won victories, while the fourth returned with a large booty, and the Saxons at length retired homewards (*Annales Laur. and Egin.*, ad an. Pertz, i, 152 and 153).

In 775, Charles again crossed the Rhine with a large army, and captured the fortress of Sigiburg, which Ledebur fixes at the ruins still called Hohensyburg, near the junction of the Lenne with the Ruhr. This he did not destroy, but fortified

more skilfully and put a garrison into it. Thence he advanced to Ehresburgh, which he had overturned in a former campaign. He restored its fortifications and also put a garrison in it, and went on to Brunesburg (near Huxar on the left bank of the Weser), whose neighbourhood he ravaged. Crossing the river, he again defeated the Saxons, and leaving a force at the ferry, he advanced into the interior of the Saxon land. At the Ocker, the former boundary of the Thuringians and the Saxons, the nobles of Ostphalen, with Hassio, their leader, submitted, gave hostages, and promised to be faithful to the Franks. Charles then went to Bukki (Bückeberg, between Obernkirchen and Rodenberg, in Engern), and there received the submission of the Angrians, of whom Bruno was dux or chief. He then marched on to the Elbe, which he was, however, prevented from crossing by an outbreak of the Westphalians, who had attacked his garrison on the Weser. He accordingly hastened back again. This garrison had been planted at Lübbkia, on the Weser, where a pact had been made with the inhabitants. One evening when the Franks had gone out to get provisions, and were returning, several hundred Saxons (who, as I have said, were then their friends) were mixed up with them, and were helping to carry the goods with their acquiescence, when they attacked them unawares, slaughtered a section of them, and drove the rest from the fortress. Charles thereupon returned to Westphalia, where he revenged his people in a serious fight, and again compelled the Saxons to give hostages (*Annales Iaur.* and *Annales Einhardt*, Pertz, i, 154 and 155).

Having, as he thought, subdued this revolt, Charles again repaired to Italy to punish the rebel Lombard chief Rotgaud. The Saxons accordingly used their opportunity and attacked the garrison which Charles had placed at Ehresburgh, enticed it into an ambush, and then slaughtered it and levelled the fortifications with the ground. They attempted a similar policy with the troops at Sigiburg, but warned in time by some fugitives from Ehresburg, they defended themselves bravely. The Saxons used a kind of primitive artillery for casting stones, and made an onslaught on the garrison. The Franks thereupon sortied by the gate, and attacked the besiegers unexpectedly in the rear. The Saxons were panic-stricken, and fled as far as the Lippe, leaving many of their men in the retreat. The Lorsch annals tell us they were struck with panic by the appearance of two shields of flaming red, which were suspended in the sky over an adjoining church. Charles having captured and put to death Rotgaud in Italy, returned homewards, recalled by the danger of the Saxon invasion. He

held a diet at Worms, and determined to make a fresh attack upon the continual disturbers of the peace. He again entered their land, laid it waste, and captured its fortresses. He advanced as far as the sources of the Lippe, where many of the Saxon chiefs, with their wives and children, willingly submitted and were baptised. Having restored the fortress of Ehresburgh, he built a new one on the Lippe, which Pertz fixes at the site of Lippstadt (*Annales Laurissenses et Einhardti*, Pertz, i, 156 and 157; Möller, note 138). The following year, namely, in 777, he advanced with a large army as far as Paderborn, famous for its fertile and beautiful situation, whence, according to the Poeta Saxo, "its ancient barbarous name" (Pertz, i, 233; Möller, note 139). There he assembled the Saxon chiefs and freemen, who renewed their oath of fidelity, and it was agreed that if any of them should afterwards fall away either from his Christian profession or allegiance, that the offender should forfeit his liberty. The most redoubtable of the Saxons, however, was not present. He was a Westphalian, and was named Witikind, and we are told that, conscious of his many offences, he fled with some of his companions to Sigfred, the King of the Northmen (*Annales Lauris. et Einhardti*, Pertz, i, 156; Eginhardt, *id.*, 559; Poeta Saxo, *id.*, 233). Witikind, it is clear from the way in which he is mentioned in the annals of Lorsch, had already greatly distinguished himself, although he is not mentioned distinctly by name until the year 777. From his retreat and vantage ground he now continued his exertions against the old foes of his people. After the meeting at Paderborn, Charles had gone off to the other end of his dominions to oppose the Saracens. When the Saxons heard of this, incited by Witikind and his companions, they broke out again into rebellion and advanced, plundering as far as Deutz on the Rhine, sparing neither age nor sex, says Eginhardt, so as to prove that their campaign was one of vengeance, and not a mere raid (Eginhardt, *Annales*, ad an. 778). They burnt the churches in Hesse and Thuringia, and we are told the monks of Fulda fled in terror with the bones of Saint Boniface. This was in 778 (*Annales Laurissenses*, ad an.; *Annales Fuldenses*, Pertz, i, 349; Möller, note 141). Charles, on hearing of this invasion, despatched a force against the Saxons; the Poeta Saxo says he ordered the Alemanni and Eastern Franks to march against them, and followed himself in all haste. The Saxons now prudently withdrew, retiring through the Lahngau to the Eder with their booty. They were overtaken at a place called Lihesi on the latter river. The Poeta Saxo calls it Baddonfeld. The Saxons were defeated with considerable loss and retired homeward. The approaching winter prevented further pursuit

(Pertz, i, 158 and 159, Kruse, Chron. Norm., 8; Möller, 54 and 55).

The next year Charles crossed the Rhine near the outfall of the Lippe, and advanced to Bochalt on the Aa, ravaging the country *en route*. Having been defeated, the Westphalians again made terms and gave hostages. He then went on to the Weser and planted a fortress at Medo-fullium, or Mittel Fuhlen (which Ledebur identifies with Fuhlen near Oldendorf, on the left bank of the Weser), and received the submission of the Ostphalian and Engrian nobles. Having retired again, at the approach of winter, he once more entered the Saxon land in the following year. This time he marched by way of Ehresburgh to the sources of the Lippe, and thence went on to Orheim beyond the Ocker, where the inhabitants of the Bardengau and many of the Nord Liudi, or Saxons beyond the Elbe, were baptised; then advanced to where the Orum falls into the Elbe, near the site of Wolmirstadt, where he planted a garrison and settled the affairs of the Saxons and Slaves (*Annales Laur. and Einhardt*, Pertz, i, 160 and 161; Kruse, *op. cit.*, notes 14 and 15). Saxony was now incorporated with the empire and was divided into parishes and dioceses. In 782 a diet was held in the Saxon country, near the sources of the Lippe, which was attended by all the Saxon grandees, except Witikind and his companions, who had fled to the Northmen. Charles had scarcely returned home when that uneasy patriot again stirred up his countrymen to rebellion. Charles not knowing of this outbreak had sent three of his officers, namely, his Chancellor, Adalgis, his Marshal, Gailo, and his Count of the Palace, Worad, to punish the Sorabi, who had invaded the Frank territory. They marched with an army of Eastern Franks and Saxons, and were joined by Theodoric, a relative of Charles, who headed a section of Ripuarian Franks. Hearing, on the way, that the Saxons had rebelled, they turned aside and fell on them. Witikind and his people were planted on the mountain called Suntal, near Hausberg, whilst the Franks were posted on an adjoining mountain. Theodoric was first sent on to explore, but the three officers, fearing that he might gain the credit of the victory, hastily attacked the Saxon fortress. They sustained, in consequence, a severe defeat. Adalgis and Gailo, with four Counts and twenty nobles, were killed, while only a few escaped over the mountains to the camp of Theodoric. The Saxons do not seem to have prosecuted their victory, and Charles having assembled his force, marched to exact a terrible punishment from his treacherous neighbours. He advanced to the place when the Eder falls into the Weser, and there summoned the Saxon chiefs. They laid the blame upon Witikind, but Charles was too much afflicted by the loss of his officers and

people to retire this time without a due punishment; 4,500 of the ringleaders and leaders of the revolt were doomed to death and were executed in one day at Verden on the Alar (*Annales Lauris*, etc., Pertz, i, 162-165; Möller, 57-59; Kruse, 16 and 17), a punishment which, notwithstanding the gibes of Zeller and others, we cannot deem excessive for the persistent treachery of the Saxons. It did not, however, have its due effect, and perhaps instigated the survivors to further revenge. We accordingly find them assembling the next year, *i.e.*, 783, at Detmold, under the command of Witikind, when they were severely defeated. Charles retired to Paderborn to await reinforcements, and then advancing again won a second and more decisive victory on the banks of the Hase near Osnabruck. This fight, according to some, lasted for three days, and was very fiercely contested, and was a great disaster to the Saxons. Charles crossed the Weser and advanced unopposed to the Elbe, laying waste the country, the miserable inhabitants sheltering themselves in the forests and beyond the Elbe. The Emperor returned home once more for the winter. The indomitable Saxons were not yet crushed, and next year we again find them rebelling; this time in conjunction with some of the Frisians. Charles accordingly again advanced to the Weser, near Huculvium (the Modern Petershagen, formerly called Hockeleve; Pertz, i, 166). He was prevented from going directly northward by the floods of the Weser. Leaving, therefore, a division, under his eldest son, to look after the Westphalians, he made a detour southwards towards Thuringia, and thence on again to the country of the Elbe and the Saale, and reached Stagenfurt (*i.e.*, Steinfurt on the Ohre, as Ledebur has argued; Moller, *op. cit.*, 60, note), and thence went to Schœning. Most of the Saxon chiefs, however, fled, and the land he laid waste was largely deserted by its inhabitants. After this march he again returned to Worms. Meanwhile, the Westphalians had attacked the division of the younger Charles in the Gau of Dragini (Hertfeld, Lisborn, Werne, and Kappenberg are situated in this district; Pertz, i, 166, note 91). They were defeated by him, but not subdued, for we find him repairing to Worms for aid. Charles, the Emperor, thereupon determined upon a very unusual course with him, namely, upon a winter campaign. He spent Christmas near Schieder, on the Ambre, and then went on to Rimi at the junction of the Weser and the Werra, where his march was obstructed by the inundations and the severity of the weather. He thereupon went to Ehresburgh and distributed his army in winter quarters in the neighbourhood. He made several attacks on the Saxon strongholds during the winter (Möller, 61). Having spent the spring at Ehresburgh, during

which time he rebuilt it, and also built the Basilica there, he summoned the Saxon and Frank chiefs to a diet at Paderborn (Chron. Moiss., Pertz, i, 297; Kruse, *op. cit.*, 22).

This was in 785. At this diet, according to Pertz, was issued the first capitulary relating to the Saxons, which is extant. The first five clauses enact punishments for offences against the Church. The 1st decrees that the Christian churches shall be as duly honoured as the pagan fanes were wont to be. The 2nd is as to violation of sanctuary. The 3rd decrees that any one entering a church and stealing from it, or setting it on fire, shall suffer death. The 4th decrees death to those who wilfully and without leave eat flesh during the Long Fast. The 5th, a similar penalty for any one who kills a bishop, priest, or deacon. The 6th clause has a very curious sound, and provides that if, according to the manner of the pagans, any one should deem a man or woman to be a witch and to eat men, and shall consequently burn him or give his flesh to be eaten, or shall eat it himself, he is to be put to death. The 7th decree enacts that any one burning the corpse of a dead person, after the manner of the pagans, shall be put to death. This shows that the Saxons of Nether Saxony, while yet pagans, were, like the later Danes, in the habit of burning their dead. The 8th, that if any of the Saxons shall hide away and refuse to be baptised, he shall suffer death. 9th, If any one shall sacrifice a man to the devil and so invoke the devils (*i.e.* the pagan gods) in his sacrifice, he shall suffer the same penalty. 10th, Death was to be the punishment of any one conspiring with pagans against the Christians, or their King. 11th, So if any one was unfaithful to the King (*i.e.* the Frank King). 12th, Or if any one carried off his lord's daughter. 13th, Or if any one killed his lord or lady. 14th, But where the criminal repaired to the priest and willingly made full confession, the punishment of death was, on the request of the priest, to be remitted. 15th, In regard to lesser enactments, the Saxons consented that each pagus or village should give to the Church a dwelling and two farms, and for each 120 men, including nobles, freemen, and liti, to give to the same Church a manservant and a maid. 16th, On the payment of any dues to the State, a tenth part was to be handed over to the Church. 17th, It was ordered that all classes, nobles, freemen, and liti, should give a tenth of their labour and income to the Church. 18th, No assemblies or public meetings were to be held on Sunday, but, unless kept away by urgent business or the attacks of the enemy, the Saxons should repair to church on Sundays and festivals to hear the word of God and have leisure for good works, and to pray. 19th, All infants were to be baptised before they were a year old; in case of omission without permission, a noble

was to pay 120 solidi, a freeman 60, a litus 30. 20th, Any one making an illicit marriage, within prohibited degrees, should pay, if a noble 60, a freeman 30, a litus 15 solidi. 21st, Any one offering gifts to fountains, or trees, or groves, or offering anything in the manner of the Gentiles, or eating in honour of the devils, should pay, if a noble 60 solidi, a freeman 30, a litus 15, and if he had not wherewith to pay, he must give the value of the fine to the church in labour. 22nd, *The bodies of the Christian Saxons were to be buried in the cemeteries of the church and not in mounds.* 23rd, Diviners and soothsayers were to be handed over to the priests. 24th, If thieves and malefactors fled from one comitatus to another, and any one sheltered them for seven nights, except in order to hand them over to justice, he should pay the prescribed fine; and if a count was party either to their escape or to their concealment without good reason, he should forfeit his office. 25th, In regard to mortgage, no one was to presume to pledge another on pain of being put under the ban. 26th, Any one preventing another from going to obtain justice should be put under the ban. 27th, If any man should not be able to find a surety, his goods should be put under the ban (forbanno) until such a surety was forthcoming. If he presumed to return home notwithstanding, besides his debt he should pay 10 solidi or an ox in order to clear his ban. If his surety should fail to appear on the appointed day, he himself should forfeit as much as his principal would have done. If the principal, however, should fail to his surety, he should forfeit double the fine which he had permitted the surety to incur. 28th, If any received gifts or premiums against the innocent he should be put under the ban, and if a count he should forfeit his office. 29th, The counts were to use their efforts to prevent strife and warfare, and if quarrels broke out among them they were to remit the matter to another court. 30th, If any one killed a count, or was privy to his death, his goods should be forfeited to the king and he should be tried. 31st, Authority was given to the counts to fine people within their jurisdictions, in greater causes to the extent of 60 solidi, in lesser ones to the extent of 15 solidi. 32nd, If any one was under an obligation to make oath to another, he must do it on the appointed day at the church, and if he refused he must give security and pay 5 solidi. 33rd, Perjuries were to be treated according to the Saxon law. 34th, It was forbidden to the Saxons to hold any general public meetings, unless summoned by the king's messengers or missi, but each count should do justice and settle causes within his own jurisdiction. The priests were to take notice of this.

After holding the diet where this capitulary was issued, Charles crossed the Weser, and entered the Bardengan, where the

Saxons performed their usual comedy of giving hostages, and of being baptised. Witikind, Albion, and some other chiefs fled beyond the Elbe. Charles now sent an invitation to them to make peace with him, but as they were unwilling to return without some protection, he agreed, by the intervention of Amalvinus, to give them some Franks as hostages. Having returned to Attigny, he was followed there by Witikind and Albion, who were there baptised. So important was this victory deemed that Charles specially refers to it in a letter to his contemporary, Offa of Mercia, and the Pope ordered the event to be celebrated by three days of solemn processions throughout western Christendom. It is noteworthy that in his letter to Offa Charles calls the Saxon chief Withmund and not Witikind. The former is certainly in form more like a Saxon name, while Witikind, the Whiteboy, seems to favour the statement of an old Saxon poet, who tells us his name was changed at his baptism from Nickheim to Witikind (Kruse, *op. cit.*, 5).

According to the ancient chronicles of Brunswick, Witikind married the sister of Sigfred, the King of the Northmen, who was called Geva, by whom he had two children, a son named Wipert, and a daughter Hasala, who married Berno, one of the twelve Ethelings of the Saxons, who had fled with Witikind when he went to Denmark. The same authors tell us these twelve Ethelings ruled over the land of the Saxons, and when there was war, they met and elected one of their number as their king. After the war was over he returned to his original status. Witikind was nominated as king in his way, and when Charles made peace with him, he created a dukedom of Saxony, and appointed Witikind to the post, while the rest of the Ethelings he made lords and counts (Kruse 4-5).

This is chiefly from the chronicle of Botho, written at the end of the 15th century, but it is apparently founded on original information. The baptism of Witikind seems to have effectually pacified the Saxons for some time to come.

In 789 Charles, after holding a council attended by the Franks and Saxons, traversed Saxony and went beyond the Elbe to receive the submission of the Wiltzi. We are told that Saxons, Franks, and Frisians formed his army on this occasion (Pertz, i, 174).

In 793, when Charles was engaged in his war against the Avaes, Count Theodoric, doubtless the Theodoric already named, went among the Frisians to get a contingent of men. He had led a body of Frisians and Saxons in the Avar war of 791. For some reason or other we find the neighbouring Saxons breaking out into rebellion, and attacking him in the Gau of Riustria, dispersing his troops, destroying many churches, and

treating their priests with indignity. Charles accordingly marched against them; he went himself at the head of one army, which advanced through Thuringia, while his son Charles headed another. The Saxons were assembled at Sendfeldt, near Wunnenberg. Finding themselves threatened on two sides, the latter made terms with the Frankish king, and swore to become Christians, as they had often done, "and the king believed them," says the impatient chronicler, and gave them priests (Pertz, i, 302).

According to the Chronicon Moissiac, they thought that the Avars wished to liberate themselves, and accordingly disclosed their own hidden views. "Like dogs returning to their vomit," says the annalist, "they returned once more to their paganism, and allying themselves with the pagans in their neighbourhood, they also sent envoys to the Avars, rebelling first against their God and then against their king; they devastated the churches in their neighbourhood, cast out the bishops and priests, and killed those whom they could lay hands upon, while they returned once more to their idolatry" (Pertz, i, 299).

Permanent peace with the Saxons was impossible so long as the country beyond the Elbe, the resort of so many refugees, remained unsubdued. Accordingly Charles determined the following year, namely, in 795, upon a more vigorous policy in his direction. He went to the borders of the Elbe to Bardenwic, and summoned the Obodriti, a Slavic race which lived beyond that river, to send envoys. Their king, Witzan, seems, *inter alios*, to have gone, but as he was returning he was waylaid by the Saxons beyond the river, who probably deemed this coquetting with their enemy, and was killed. Charles now began a new policy towards the Saxons, and we are told he transplanted one-third of them within the Frankish borders. The Fulda annals date this in 794, but the other authorities put it in 795 (Kruse, *op. cit.*, 29-30.) Those transported were probably some of the principal people, and in the Annales Xantenses, the number so moved is put down at 7,070 men (*id.*, 29). They were not settled in one place but in various localities, as in Haspania, the modern Haspengau, Hennegau, Belgia, and Bamberg (*id.* 30).

In 796, while his son Pepin was fighting the Avars, Charles, suspecting an outbreak among the Saxons, marched into their country. He received hostages (apparently from the Westphalians) in the district belonging to the monastery of Dragini, now Raghlin (Kruse, 30; Moller, 64), and crossing the Weser at Leese, he entered the district of Wigmodia, the modern Wümmegau, between the Lower Elbe and the Weser. There the inhabitants were submissive, and he once more returned to "Francia." The following year he again advanced into

Wigmodia, which was then probably occupied by Frisians; he captured the fortress of Wihmuodi, and went as far as Hadeloh, the maritime tract between the estuaries of the Elbe and Weser. Having again taken hostages, he once more returned to Aachen (Kruse, 31). He held a diet there in October, which was attended by Saxons, from all parts, *i.e.*, Westphalians, Angrians, and Ostphalians, and a Saxon capitulary was issued in which it was agreed that for all offences in which Franks were to pay a fine of 60 solidi, that Saxons should be mulcted in a similar amount, while for lesser offences in which Franks were fined 15 solidi, Saxons were ordered to pay 12 for nobles, 5 for free-men, and 4 for liti.

Various clauses provide fines and wergilds (wargida, they are here called): 1. In cases where they were tried at home, *infra patriam*, the pagus was to receive 12 solidi as a wargid. 2. If the cause was tried, according to the custom, before one of the *missi regalia*, besides the wargid, a second similar amount was to be paid to the missi. If the cause, however, was remitted to the palace to be tried before the king, nothing was to be paid to the pagus, but the royal exchequer was to receive 24 solidi. 3. In case the litigant should not be satisfied with the judgment of the country, and a second appeal had to be made to the king, and if he adjudged that the missi were right, then the fine was to be 24 solidi. 4. If he came before the appellate court a second time, 48 solidi, and in case of a third trial the fine was to be tripled. 5. If any should disdain to attend the diet, he should be fined, if a noble 4 solidi, a freeman 2, a litus 1. 6. If any one did a wrong to a priest or to his servants he must repay twofold. 7. In case anyone (? anything) should be destroyed by the missi of the king, threefold restitution should be made as according to the Saxon Ewa, and so if anything was done by their men. 8. No one out of mere spite or enmity against another was to burn his property, unless in case of a persistent rebel who refused to do justice, and upon whom it was impossible to distrain otherwise, and refused to go before the king's court to have the question tried out there; in such case, a meeting was to be summoned of the pagus, then if they decided unanimously, his house was to be burnt according to the Ewa. (This word is explained in a gloss to the Corbey MS. as meaning "law," Pertz, *Leges* i, 170.) If any one dared to commit arson except for this reason, he was to pay 60 solidi. 9. If the king should desire in greater causes, etc., to inflict a heavier fine, then with the consent of the Franks, and the faithful Saxons, it was to be lawful to double the fine of 60 solidi, and to inflict penalties of from 100 to 1,000 solidi. 10. In cases of malefactors who, according to the Saxon Ewa, were liable to capital punishment, and who fled

to the king for protection, it should be lawful for him either to return them to their people for punishment or with their consent to outlaw him; his family, and his goods, and he was then to be held as if he were dead. 11. In assessing the value of a solidus among the Saxons, it was noted that for each solidus there should be paid a yearling beast of either sex in the condition it was in the autumn when sent into the stable. As it grew during the spring, after it came out from the stable, and during the summer its value was also to increase. Other provisions regulated the value of the solidus in measures of grain or honey.

In a capitulary issued in 801, at Ticino, it was ordered that in all causes between Franks who obeyed the Salic law, the solidus was to be counted as worth 12 denarii, but in all contentions with Saxons and Frisians the latter were to pay the Franks, if they lost their suit, after the rate of 40 denarii to each solidus (Pertz, *Leges*, i, 85).

In the spring of 798 Charles made another incursion into Saxony. He went with his "comitatus" or court, and spent Christmas at the place where the Diemel falls into the Weser. He founded a fortress there, which he ordered to be called Heristelle, while he scattered his army in winter quarters in various parts of Saxony (Möller, 66, note 190). With the warmer weather he advanced farther east. The Saxons beyond the Elbe, who had not yet felt his arms, had put some envoys whom he had sent to them to death, and had also slain Godescalcus, an ambassador who had been sent to Sigfred, the Danish King, and whom they waylaid on his return.

The trans-Albingian Saxons were apparently assisted by those living between the Weser and the Elbe, for we find Charles, after crossing the Weser at Minden, where he placed a garrison, laying waste that part of Saxony which lay between the Weser and the Elbe (Eginhardt, *Annales*, Pertz, i, 185; Kruse, 32).

The Saxons beyond the Elbe being elated by their recent raid upon the Imperial envoys, now made an assault upon the Obodriti, the faithful friends of the Franks. The Obodriti, under their King Thrasco, were posted at Swentina (probably the modern Bornhovet, formerly called Swentinefeldt, on the River Swentina which separated the Saxons and Obodriti). The struggle was a very severe one, and Eburis, the representative of Charles at the Court of Thrasco, reported that the Saxons, who were defeated, lost 4,000 men (Eginhardt *Annales*, Pertz, i, 185; Kruse, 32). The Slaves sent to report their victory to Charles, by whom they were duly rewarded. He then, having again taken hostages, returned home again (Kruse, 33). In 799 Charles held a great diet at Paderborn, where he built a splendid church. It was while

staying there that he received the fugitive Pope Leo the Third, whom he promised to support, and who subsequently crowned him as Emperor of the West. From Paderborn he sent an army under his son Charles, to the Elbe to arrange matters with the Obodriti and to compel the obedience of the trans-Albingian Saxons, after which he returned home again. In 802 we find him sending another army to ravage the country of the trans-Albingian Saxons (Kruse, 36).

The Saxons were now, however, finally subdued, became tractable subjects of the Franks, and were apparently governed by Witikind.

From the account of the translation of Saint Alexander we learn that Witikind was succeeded as their chief by his son Wibreht (*i.e.*, Wibert) and he by his son Waltbraht (*i.e.*, Walbert), who is specially commended to his son Louis by the Emperor Lothaire in a letter quoted in the same life, in which he requests him to wed a Saxon of noble birth, and calls him his faithful vassal, *fidelis vassalus noster*.

In another letter written to Pope Leo he speaks of the Nordalbingian Saxons as "Gens in partibus nostri regni Saxonum scilicet et Fresonum commixta in confinibus Nordmannorum et Obodritorum sita, quæ evangelicam doctrinam jam dudum audierat et acceperat, sed propter vicinitatem paganorum ex parte firma in religione constat et ex parte jam pene defecta" (Transl. St. Alexandri, Pertz, ii, 676-677).

In the account of the translation of Saint Pusinna we are told that the two famous Saxon monasteries of Corbey and Heriford were founded in the reign of the Emperor Louis, *i.e.* Louis the Pious (*id.* 681). Under the year 841 we read in the *Annales Xantenses* that the Saxon slaves (*Servi*) rose against their lords and gave themselves the name of Stellinga. They committed great ravages and their lords were much persecuted (Pertz, ii, 227). Nithard, who probably wrote his history between 841 and 843, in which last year he was killed, tells us that when Lothaire was fighting against his two brothers, the Saxon nobles were divided into two factions, one taking his side and the other theirs. Lothaire incited the subjects of Louis the German to rebellion and *inter alia* he promised the frilings and the lazzi in Saxony, who were very numerous, that if they would side with him they should have the ancient laws again which had been current when they were still idolaters. Incited by this promise they banded together, called themselves Stellinga, and drove their lords or ethelings away (Pertz, ii, 669). They were suppressed by Louis but again broke out in rebellion and were again put down (*id.* 670 and 671).

This mention of the three estates of the Saxons by Nithard

reminds me that the author of the "*Translatio Sancti Alexandri*" has some curious details about them which I have not yet quoted.

We are there told that although the Saxons were turbulent in their foreign politics and aggressive against their neighbours, that at home they were quiet and peaceable. He says they were proud of their blood and would not marry either with inferiors or with strangers. They were large in stature and of fair complexion. Their society consisted of four classes: Nobles (*nobili*), freemen (*liberi*), *liti* (he calls them *liberti*), and slaves. These classes did not intermarry, but the individuals of each married with those of their own class (thus forming castes, like the people of India). An incongruous marriage, according to the biographer, was punished with death. He also praises their laws. They worshipped some who were not deemed gods, among whom the chief was *Mercurius* (*i.e.*, *Woden*) to whom on certain days they offered human sacrifices. They did not house their gods in temples, nor did they deem any human form sufficiently great and dignified to represent them. They had sacred groves, to which they gave the names of their gods, and in which they worshipped. They practised divination. This was of a simple character. Having cut off a branch of a fruit-bearing tree, they cut it into twigs and scattered them on a white cloth at random; then, if it was a public consultation, the priest of the nation, if a private one, the father of the family, having prayed to the gods, took up three of them and interpreted them according to some test previously fixed. If the omen was unfavourable they would not prosecute their purpose further that day. They also consulted the cries and the flight of birds, and also the neighing of horses, which they deemed the most valuable augury of all. Before they engaged in war they tested the result in another way. Having captured, if possible, one of the enemy, they chose one of their own people to fight him and judged of the result of the coming battle by the success of either champion in this duel. They respected certain seasons, as the waning and waxing of the moon. They worshipped in groves, and, *inter alia*, a large trunk of a tree exposed to the sky, which they called *Irmisul*, meaning the Universal column, as if it supported the universe (*Pertz*, ii, 675 and 676).

I will conclude with a short survey of the religious revolution in Saxony, by which it became converted to Christianity. The first who converted any of the Saxons was Saint Faro. In 621, envoys went to Chlothaire the Second, from the Saxon chief Berthoald, who in jeering and insulting terms renounced their master's allegiance to the Franks. Chlothaire, who was highly indignant, wished to put them to death, but Saint Faro

persuaded him to put off their execution till the following day. The envoys were thrown into prison, where Saint Faro repaired at night and converted them to the Christian faith. The following day, when they were to have been executed, he begged that the new converts might be sent home (*Vita Sti Faronis Acta Sanctorum*, Bouquet iii, 504). We next read how Saint Eligius redeemed many of the Saxons who had been made prisoners by Dagobert, and then converted them to the faith (*Vita Sti Eligii ap Acher. t. v. Spic.* 156; Möller, *id.*).

We must next speak of Saint Wilfred, Archbishop of York, who on his way to Rome in the year 677 was shipwrecked on the coast of Frisland, and spending the winter there, held some services. Saint Egbert, having heard from him that the Frisians and Saxons were still pagans, sent one of his priests to Frisland, who spent two years trying in vain to teach the Frisians. Soon after this, Egbert sent Saints Willibrord and Suibert with twelve other priests to Frisia. Among the latter were two brothers named Ewald, one with white hair and the other black, whence they were known as the White and the Swart. Bede tells us they were Englishmen, and had been exiles in Ireland. They went to the land of the old Saxons, says Bede, and were well received by the head man of a village. They asked him to introduce them to his superior, the governor of the province, whom Bede calls a satrap, and who doubtless answered to our English Ealdorman. Bede adds, in reference to this officer, a curious note confirming what I have already adduced from another source; he says there was no king among the old Saxons, but only satraps set over different provinces, who in times of peace had equal jurisdiction, but in time of war they elected one of them as their over-chief (*i.e.*, their emperor), who was deposed again to his former rank on the return of peace.

The missionaries told the reeve, or village chief, that they had something important to communicate to his master, and he accordingly detained them a few days in his house. Secure there, as they thought, they spent their time in prayer and psalmody, offering daily to God the sacrifice of the Saving Victim, for which purpose they had brought with them the sacred vessels and a portable altar (Bede, *Mon. Hist. Britt.*, 258; Lingard, *A. S. Church*, 233.) Afraid that they might influence the satrap, and seduce him from his old faith, the Saxons seized on the missionaries and put them to death on the 3rd October, 695. When the Ealdorman arrived, he had the murderers executed and the village burned. Various miracles are reported by Bede as having been performed by their bodies, which were at length buried at Cologne by the Frank king, Pepin (*id.*).

Saint Boniface, who well earned the title of Apostle of Germany, after working for some time among the Frisians, settled on the borders of the Hessians and old Saxons at Amanaburg on the Ohm, and made many converts. In 732 he received the pallium at Rome and was authorised to found Episcopal sees, and was also appointed papal vicar over both Gallic and German bishops. In 744 he founded the famous Monastery of Fulda, and eventually established several sees in Germany.

One of the earliest apostles of the Saxons was the Saint Lebuinus already quoted. He was an Englishman by birth, and a *protégé* of Saint Boniface. We are told he and his companion Marcellinus landed at Utrecht and proceeded to Wilp, near Deventer, on the Isel, and having converted many thereabouts, he crossed that river and planted a small church beyond. The pagans, however, speedily excited by his work, set upon, burnt, and destroyed his buildings and did much damage to his little colony of converts. He himself, however, was protected by the local chief. Hearing that the Saxons were about to hold their annual meeting at Marklo, he determined to repair thither. Meanwhile, he lived with a chief of some importance, who tried to persuade him not to go on with his work, as he feared for his life. He nevertheless insisted upon attending the gathering, which was made up of a great multitude of people from different quarters. As the assembly was about to begin with the usual sacrifices, he raised his voice against the sacrilege, and, if we are to believe his biographer, spoke out bravely and eloquently against idolatry. They were greatly enraged, and would have quickly made a martyr of him, but we are told he was miraculously preserved; whereupon, one of their chiefs named Buto, standing upon an eminence, addressed them, saying they were wont to receive and listen respectfully to the messages of the envoys of the Northmen, Slaves and Frisians, and now when God's own ambassador brought them a message they were going to kill him. They thereupon desisted and allowed him to go about freely where he liked. He does not seem to have been very successful, however, and apparently retired from Saxony, and died, and was buried at Deventer (Pertz, ii, 361-364).

In Huebald's "Life of St. Lebuinus," written between 918 and 976, we have some curious details of the Saxons. He also tells us they were divided into three classes: *edlingi* (nobles), *frilingi* (ingenuiles), and *lassi* (serviles). This information he probably derived from Nithard. He tells us further that each *pagus* was governed by its own chief. At a certain time in each year there were elected from these *pagi*, and also from the three orders,

twelve men who assembled together at a place near the Weser, called Marklo (which is identified by the editor with Markenah in the district of Hoya near the Heiligen loh, *i.e.*, the sacred wood) and Adelshorn. There they discussed the public weal according to the prescribed rules. One of these councils, as I have said, was attended by Lebuinus (Pertz, ii, 361 and 362.)

Another of the *protégés* of Saint Boniface was Saint Sturm, who became Abbot of Fulda. In the year 777, after the great diet held at Paderborn, a great number of Saxons, partly by compulsion, partly by persuasion, and partly by gifts (*i.e.*, bribery) consented to become Christians, and not long after, Boniface divided their land into parishes and sees, and appointed Saint Sturm and his monks to evangelize it. They proceeded to build churches and to demolish idols and groves. The following year the Saxons drove out these priests and advanced to the Rhine, as I have mentioned. Sturm and his monks fled with the remains of their saint, and returned only on hearing that the invaders had been driven back. In 779, Saint Sturm, who was then a feeble old man, was ordered to repair to Ehresburgh and to settle there, but he was already on the edge of the grave and died almost directly. This was in 779 ("Life of St. Sturm," Pertz, ii, 376-377).

We now find another Englishman undertaking the work: this was Saint Willehad, who was sent by Charles into the more northern districts of Saxony, *i.e.*, Wigmodia, where his mission was very successful in making converts, building churches, and ordaining priests. This was in the year 781.

The following year, as I have mentioned, Witikind broke out in rebellion, and Willehad and his companions were driven away and the converts suffered terribly. Willehad repaired to Rome.

In 785 we find him with Charles at Ehresburgh, who gave him the living of Valesio Mont Julin, in Upper Burgundy. He then again returned to Wigmodia, where he busied himself in his work and restored the churches which had been destroyed. This was followed by the submission and baptism of Witikind himself, and in 787 Saint Willehad was consecrated as a bishop at Worms, and his diocese was constituted from the districts of Wigmodia, Lorgoe, Reustria, Asterga, Nordendi, and Wanga. He thus became the first Bishop of Bremen, where in 789 he dedicated its cathedral to Saint Peter. He died the same year (Vita Saint Willehadi, Pertz, ii, 380-383). About this time Charles also caused the church of Saint Peter at Minden to be built, and appointed Hercumbert to take charge of it.

I have now completed this part of my story, in the course of which I hope I may have brought together a good deal of matter new to English students, and certainly not to be found in any English work accessible to me. I hope, also, I have succeeded in showing, what is a very important conclusion for ethnographers, philologists, and historians alike, that Grimm and his school of German writers were entirely wrong in deducing the Saxons from the old Kheruskans, that the Old Saxons, like the Saxons of England, were immigrants, and that they only occupied the Valley of the Weser and the districts of Nether Saxony in the 6th century.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

JANUARY 27TH, 1880.

EDWARD B. TYLOR, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., *President, in the Chair.*

The notice convening the meeting was read.

The minutes of the last Anniversary Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Treasurer's Financial Statement was read and adopted on the motion of Mr. HORNIMAN, seconded by Mr. A. L. LEWIS.

Treasurer's Financial Statement.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Receipts and Payments for the Year ending 31st December, 1879.

RECEIPTS.			PAYMENTS.		
£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
BALANCES, January 1st, 1879:					
57	1	5	RENT, one year to September, 1879.....		
15	8		PRINTING:		
			Journal: Balance of No. 24 (1878).....		
			" Nos. 25, 26 (1878), and 27 (1879).....		
			Miscellaneous 12 7 4		
53	11	0	LITHOGRAPHY:..... 2 4 11		
420	0	0	Emstie, to December, 1878..... 143 16 0		
21	0	0	Emslie, Kell, Sanford, and Stanford..... 12 7 4		
54	12	0	PHOTOGRAPHY:..... 9 13 3		
5	5	0	Wright 57 8 6		
554	8	0	SALARIES:.....		
2	0	0	Clerk 71 4 6		
30	0	0	Assistant Secretary..... 45 0 0		
7	10	0	Office Boy 6 9 0		
1	5		Collector's Commission 27 13 1		
			POSTAGE:		
			Journal 12 18 0		
			Letters, Circulars, and Post Cards 16 11 6		
			Book Parcels 0 17 8		
69	11	8	ADVERTISING:		
1	14	2	Street, to December, 1878 2 11 0		
2	19	0	" " November, 1879 7 18 9		
11	12	10	From Petty Cash..... 0 2 0		
85	17	8			

Treasurer's Financial Statement.

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Executors of S. Ellis, Esq.....	1,000 0 0	Office:	Stationery, to December, 1878	1 14 9
Nine months' dividend on £1,000 Metropolitan	25 14 3	"	Receipt and Stamps on Drafts from abroad	7 11 2
3½ per cent. Consolidated Stock (less			and Bank Charges.....	2 8 1
Income Tax).....			Bookbinding.....	5 11 0
			Insurance.....	18 0
			Diagram of Skull.....	1 0 0
			Miscellaneous	2 15 3
		House:		21 13 3
		Ayres, gratuity for 1878.....		15 0 0
		" coals and lights		4 15 3
		" assistance, parcels, &c.		5 12 2
		" refreshments, &c.....		9 0 0
		£1,000 Metropolitan Consolidated Stock at 101½		1,012 10 0
		Broker's Commission		1 5 0
		BALANCES:		1,013 15 0
		At Bankers'		137 1 0
		In Office.....		0 15 8
				137 16 8
				<u>£1,763 8 5</u>

£1,763 8 5

Audited and found Correct.

(Signed)

A. L. LEWIS.

RICHARD WORSLEY.

LIABILITIES—APPROXIMATE

MISCELLANEOUS:	13 1 6
Printing and Bookbinding	25 5 0
House, attendance, &c.....	21 15 8
Lithography, &c.	16 18 0
Carpenter	6 2 6
Stationery, &c.	5 18 0
Sundries	32 10 0
Rent	50 0 0
Printing of Journal, Lithography, &c., about	
	<u>£171 10 8</u>

JANUARY 1st, 1880.

ASSETS.

Balance in Bank	137 1 0
" in Office	0 15 8
	137 16 8
Subscriptions in arrear	362 4 0
Publications not paid for	3 9 0
£1,000 Metropolitan Consolidated Stock at	
108	1,080 0 0
Estimate of Stock ?	
	<u>£1,553 9 8</u>

Mr. BOUVERIE PUSEY and Mr. RANGER were appointed scrutineers of the ballot, which was declared by the President to be opened.

Mr. F. W. Brabrook, F.S.A., Director, read the following report.

*REPORT of the COUNCIL of the ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE of
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND for 1879.*

THE Institute has held fifteen ordinary meetings, and one anniversary meeting during the year. At the ordinary meetings the following communications were read :—

1. On a Revised Nomenclature of the Inter-Oceanic Races of Man. By the Rev. S. J. Whitmee.
2. On Koitapu, Motu, and Neighbouring Tribes of New Guinea. By the Rev. W. G. Lawes.
3. On Resemblances between a Galtcha and a Savoyard Skull. By Dr. Topinard.
4. On Circumcision : Its Significance, its Origin and Kindred Rites. By M. Elie Reclus.
5. Customs of Australian Aborigines. By Captain W. E. Armit.
6. The Australian Aborigines. By Mr. D. Macallister.
7. The Primitive Human Family. By Mr. C. Staniland Wake.
8. The Colour of Skin, Hair, and Eyes. By Mr. E. W. Brabrook, F.S.A.
9. The Geographical Distribution of Games. By Dr. E. B. Tylor, F.R.S.
10. The Native Races of Arctic Siberia. By Mr. H. Seebohm.
11. Rock Carvings found near Sydney. By Sir Charles Nicholson.
12. On the Mummy of a Papuan, from Darnley Island. By Prof. W. H. Flower.
13. Rag-bushes and Kindred Observances. By Mr. M. J. Walhouse.
14. Trellech. By Mr. F. G. Hilton Price, F.G.S.
15. Analogies of Manners between the Indo-Chinese Races and the Races of the Indian Archipelago. By Colonel H. Yule.
16. On Relationships and the Names used for them among the Peoples of Madagascar, chiefly the Hovas ; together with Observations upon Marriage Customs and Morals among the Malagasy. By the Rev. James Sibree, Jun.
17. The Ethnology, Mythology, and Philology of Races of Early Culture, Babylonians, Etruscans, Egyptians, Japanese, &c. By Mr. Hyde Clarke.
18. On some Irish Antiquities. By Mr. A. L. Lewis.
19. On Fetichism. By Mr. Hodder M. Westropp.
20. On the Kabi dialect of Queensland. By Mr. J. Matthew.
21. On some Cornish and Irish Prehistoric Monuments. By Miss A. W. Buckland.
22. Facts about Japan and its People. By Mr. C. Pfoufies.
23. On the Osteology of the Natives of the Andaman Islands. By Prof. W. H. Flower.
24. On Paleolithic Implements from the Valley of the Brent. By Mr. Worthington G. Smith.
25. On Portstewart and other Flint Factories of the North of Ireland. By Mr. W. J. Knowles.
26. Kemp How, Cowlam. By Mr. J. R. Mortimer.
27. On some Eskimo Bone Implements from the East Coast of Greenland. By Mr. W. J. Sollas.

28. On the Bheel Tribes of the Vindhyan Range. By Colonel Kincaid.
 29. On the Relations of the Indo-Chinese and Inter-Oceanic Races and Languages. By Mr. A. H. Keane.
 30. On Ancient Arithmetical Progress, exemplified by Roman numerals.
 31. The Turcomans between the Caspian and Merv. By Prof. Vambéry.
 32. On Australian Marriage Customs. By Mr. J. Forrest and the Rev. Lorimer Fison.
 33. On Savage and Civilised Warfare. By Mr. J. A. Farrer.

Thirteen Ordinary Members have been elected during the year.

The Institute has lost through death: Mr. J. McDonnell, Mr. M. Munaret, Mr. R. S. Cunliff, Mr. W. D. Child, Mr. L. H. O. Woodd, Mr. S. Wood, Mr. J. Whishaw, Consul D. Hopkins, Mr. E. Conwell, Mr. Kirkman D. Hodgson, Mr. J. E. Harvey, Mr. W. Robinson, Mr. E. Backhouse, Mr. Lestock R. Reid, and Professor Otto.

The former and present state of the Institute with regard to the number of Members are shown in the following Table.

	Honorary.	Compounders.	Annual Subscribers.	Total.
January 1st, 1879 ..	50	92	320	462
Since elected	+ 13	+ 13
Since deceased ..	-1	-4	-10	-15
Since retired	-14	-14
January 1st, 1880 ..	49	88	309	446

A few days after the last Annual General Meeting was held, intelligence was received that a bequest of £1,000 free of legacy duty had been made to the Institute by the late Mr. Sydney Ellis. He was the youngest son of the late Mr. E. S. Ellis, Chairman of the Midland Railway Company, England, and was born at Leicester on December 12th, 1850. He was educated at Brighton, and afterwards at Tottenham, and was distinguished in his own family for his devotion to science, particularly chemistry and geology, besides taking great interest in all questions of anthropology. He joined the British Association at the Belfast Meeting in 1874, and we are informed that he generally attended exclusively the sittings of the Department of Anthropology, though he never became a member of this Insti-

tute. He regarded anthropological pursuits and studies as the true method of unravelling the origin and development of man. As an active member of a large manufacturing firm engaged in worsted spinning, he had under his care a great number of work people, of various ages and both sexes, and he spent much of his leisure time in conducting evening classes for the adults in his employ, personally instructing them in the rudiments of physical and natural science. The Ellises are a very old family, and have been connected with the county of Leicester for many years, the grandfather of Mr. Sydney Ellis having been the originator of the second railway line in the United Kingdom. Mr. S. Ellis was an active member of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Leicester. He died 26th October, 1877, from the accidental inhalation of poisonous gas, while engaged in a new and original investigation into the composition of ferro-prussiate of potash. Stooping over the vessel in which the experiment was being made, a sudden evolution of gas took place, it was inhaled and produced immediate syncope, which resulted in death, his condition not being discovered by his friends in time. *Some years before* his death he had made his will, in which, besides the £1,000 to this Institute, he had left similar sums to the Royal, Chemical, and Geological Societies.*

The Council have invested this sum, with a small addition out of current income, in the purchase of £1,000 4 per cent. Metropolitan Board of Works stock. The Institute is therefore, for the first time, in possession of invested funds, besides its valuable Museum, Library, and saleable stock of publications.

The Library has been enriched by the bequest of the Dictionaries and Grammars belonging to the late Sir Walter Trevelyan, Bart., among which may be mentioned a copy of Bayle's Dictionary in five folio volumes; Boyer's Royal Dictionary; Ruskin's Lexicon Islandicum; Sercinus' English and Swedish Dictionary; Simon's Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon; Wolff's Danish and English Dictionary; in all 49 volumes.

The other donors to the Library are:—

M. Elie Reclus; the Royal Geographical Society; the Royal Society; Mr. Serjeant Cox; the Editor of "Revue Scientifique"; the Editor of "Revue Internationale des Sciences"; the British Association; the Editor of "Matériaux pour l'Histoire de l'Homme"; the Editor of "Revue d'Hygiène et de Police Sanitaire"; Dr. Paul Broca; the Asiatic Society of Bengal; J. Park Harrison, Esq., M.A.; F. V. Dickins, Esq.; the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland; the Royal United Service Institution; Prof. W. Manz; the Editor of "Verhandlungen des Vereins zur Beförderung des Gewerbflusses"; the Royal Asiatic Society; the R. Accademia dei Lincei, Roma; the Imperial Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg; M. F. Force, Esq.; the Geologists'

* The biographical particulars have been kindly furnished by Mr. Jas. Plant, F.G.S., of Leicester.

Association; Dr. W. F. Hoffmann; the Editor of "Nature"; the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool; the Royal Academy of Science, Amsterdam; the Anthropological Society of Russia; Prof. A. Ecker; the Royal Institution of Cornwall; Herr Moriz Benedikt; Dr. Gustav Oppert; La Société des Arts et des Sciences, Batavia; La Société d'Anthropologie de Paris; The Editor of "Index Medicus"; the Asiatic Society of Japan, M. Gustav Edouard René Calmettes; the Anthropological Society of Berlin; the Editor of "The Science Index"; the Social Science Association; the Society of Antiquaries; the Royal Academy of Copenhagen; V. Ball, Esq., M.A., F.G.S.; Edward S. Morse, Esq.; La Société de Borda à Paris; the Natural History Society of Palermo; the Royal Geological Society of Ireland; J. T. Thomson, Esq.; Dr. Paolo Ricardi; A. H. Keane, Esq., B.A.; W. Pengelly, Esq., F.B.S.; Miss A. W. Buckland; Dr. G. Nicolucci; E. W. Brabrook, Esq., F.S.A.; the Anthropological Society of Vienna; the Canadian Institute; the Peabody Museum; the Government of Victoria; the State Board of Health of Massachusetts; Prof. Hayden, M.D.; the Smithsonian Association; the Central Ohio Scientific Association; United Service Entomological Commission; the American Association for the Advancement of Science; the Imperial Society of Naturalists, Moscow; the Editor of "The American Antiquarian"; the India Office; the Royal Colonial Institute; Prof. Gustav Retzius; the Royal Society of Tasmania; Association Française pour l'avancement des Sciences; the Society of Biblical Archaeology; M. Kaltbrunner; W. T. Marchant, Esq.; H. Rivett-Carnac, Esq.; R. Roberts, Esq.; the Society of Arts; the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society; the Academy of Sciences, Krakow; the Manx Society; the Editor of the "Athenaeum"; Physiko-ökonomische Societät, Königsberg; S.E.M. le Président de la Commission Impériale Archéologique, St. Petersburg; Prof. Agassiz; the Editor of "Bulletin de Mouvement Social"; the Royal Society of Literature; the Editor of the "Revue Belge de Numismatique"; W. Sharpe, Esq., M.D.; the Council of the Royal College of Surgeons; the Royal Society of Victoria; the Society of Biblical Archaeology; the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science; Dr. Julius von Haast; Francis Galton, Esq., F.R.S.; M. le Vicomte Fleuriot de Langle; M. Paul Topinard; Morton Edwards, Esq.; the Editor of "The American Antiquarian"; the Council of the City of Manchester Public Free Library; Colonel H. Clinton; the Philosophical Society of Glasgow; the University of Tokio, Japan.

Mr. W. G. SMITH moved and Mr. C. S. WAKE seconded the adoption of the Report.

The PRESIDENT then delivered his Annual Address:—

Before reviewing the past year's work of this Institute, I take the opportunity of calling your attention, for purposes of comparison, to the state of Anthropology in England as it was about a generation since. The early Journals of the "Ethnological Society of London," our ancestral body, give an interesting view of the then aspect of the problems we attend to. Dr. Prichard's "Anniversary Address for 1847" is particularly valuable in this respect. From the survey it contains of physi-

cal anthropology, to which Prichard was himself so eminent a contributor, we see that the ground of Craniology was still in great measure held by Camper's rule of the facial angle, and Ethnology had not come much beyond Blumenbach's division of mankind into five races—Caucasian, Mongolian, American, Ethiopian, and Malayan. We need only glance at our own recent journals to realise the vast progress since made, not only in cranial measurement and classification, but in the comparison of the bodily varieties of man as to stature, proportion of limbs, colour and other characters of eyes, hair, &c. As to the general theory of the origin of races, for which these observations serve as data, there lies between Prichard's time and ours the period of popularity and decline of the Polygenist doctrine, with its schemes of dividing man into a number of separate and independent races. It is only justice to this doctrine to remember the excellent effect it had in inducing the careful discrimination of race-varieties of man, though it did not furnish satisfactory means of accounting for their existence and distribution. The Polygenist theory was effective in preparing the way for the doctrine of Evolution now so widely prevailing, which, by regarding races as divergent varieties settled into comparative permanence, meets the problem of the existence of different races more rationally than could be done by the old Monogenist theory, hampered as this was by the insuperable difficulty of deriving all the races of mankind from a single stock within a very short period of time. The Lamarckian scheme of development does not seem to have had much hold on our early ethnologists. It was reserved for the Darwinian theory to raise the great physical problem of Anthropology to its present state, which is indeed far from being final, but which is making perceptible progress every year, as the effects of intermarriage of races, and their change under altered conditions of life, are more accurately recorded and compared. Next, as to the argument from languages as bearing on questions of race and nationality, the beginning of the new period of comparative philology is already apparent in Dr. Prichard's address. The establishment of the Aryan and

Semitic families of language had set on foot right methods of investigating languages in general, with reference at once to their roots and affixes, and to the mode of grammatical combination or structure by which words and sentences are built up from these elementary materials. In the comparison of languages for anthropological purposes, the influence of Wilhelm von Humboldt was especially observable, leading students to discard the old rough-and-ready method of inspecting meagre lists of words in quest of similarities, and to begin with careful analysis of the languages in question as the first step toward their systematic comparison. As years have gone on this analytical method has been worked more and more closely. As a test of the improvement in this respect, we may remember how readily it used to be assumed that all the native languages of America were of one formation. What marked difference and individuality in fact exists among them, may be well seen in the recent studies in which Mons. Lucien Adam compares the structure of sixteen American languages, ranging from rude hunting tribes of the northern lakes, to civilized nations of Mexico and Peru. There is an observation made by Dr. Prichard in another place which even more strongly marks modern progress in the linguistic part of anthropology. So learned an Indian scholar as Colebrooke appears to have supposed all the languages of India to have been derived from Sanskrit, being nothing else than degraded or corrupted Prakrits, or popular dialects of that ancient speech. To think this, was of course to confound with the Aryan languages the great Dravidian family of which Tamil and Telugu are prominent members, and which, both in material and structure utterly different from the Aryan, have now been elaborately discussed, especially in Caldwell's well-known Dravidian Grammar. At the time I am speaking of, near the close of Prichard's career, new linguistic knowledge was pouring in to the aid of anthropology. It is interesting to find mentioned as novelties, facts which with us have passed into the realm of commonplace, such as that the Sanskrit of the Veda "is said to be a dialect much more ancient

than the classical Sanskrit, or the language of the Indian poems," and that the Persian legend of Jemshid in the Shah Nameh is based on more ancient mythology of the Zendavesta. Among the events of this time whose effects are to be traced in the future history of our science, was the notable appearance at the British Association at Oxford of Baron Bunsen, busy forcing on the educated world the claims of Egyptian chronology as proving to what remote antiquity even written record carries back man's history. With him came a younger German scholar, Max Müller, destined to give a new impulse in England to philology, which had somewhat hung back since the great step made by Sir William Jones in the Indo-European field. Through the work of a new school of comparative philologists, we again hold our place well in the linguistic studies which bear on the tracing and determination of races. Lastly, we may notice in Dr. Prichard's addresses the appearance of Prehistoric Archæology in its infancy. It seems strange to us to find it still treated as an open question whether the round-headed race whose relics are found in the early Stone-age barrows of northern Europe may have been Kelts. Anthropologists now hardly doubt the justness of the then new views of Retzius and Nilsson, that these mounds were the burial-places of rude tribes who inhabited our own and neighbouring countries long before they were invaded by the comparatively highly-civilized Keltic nations who now more or less distinctly survive in Ireland, Wales, and Brittany. Dr. Prichard, we must remark, was quite alive to these views of the great Scandinavian anthropologists as to the kinship of the broad-skulled men of the burial-mounds with some Tartar race like the Lapps. One way in which this idea took shape in his mind is so curious that I must quote it here. In connection with the statement that in many parts of Western Europe, the sepulchral remains of the oldest and most barbarous class of inhabitants display a type resembling that of the round-headed Tartar race, he is led to connect it with the presence, in English story, of the personified Scythians of the Bible, Gog and Magog. His remark is :

"If these facts should be fully determined, we may find hereafter that the old British legend of Gog and Magog is at least true in a mythical sense." Lastly, in Prichard's time, I need hardly say, it was a novelty to appeal to geological evidence as bearing on human history. He indeed expressly says in his 1847 Address: "The history of mankind is not destined, like the facts on which geology is built, to be dug out of the bowels of the earth," &c. But in his Address for 1848, delivered shortly before his death, our ethnological founder saw reason to speak in a different tone, as follows: "The barbaric age of Scandinavia reaches back, according to Professor Nilsson, to the era of extinct animals, and to a period in which the surface of the earth was very different from what it has been since the commencement of historic times. Those ancient barbarians, the contemporaries perhaps of mammoths and mastodons, had skulls of a peculiar shape, and these skulls are found only in sepulchres containing implements of the rudest kind, made of stone, flint, bone, with ornaments of coral and amber." Here we find plainly stated the notion of man's presence extending back to a different state of the earth's surface and fauna, although the Stone-age burial mounds are not yet put into their proper place in pre-history (if I may use the term). The touch about mammoths and mastodons, which so strikingly anticipates more modern knowledge, seems to be Prichard's own. I need hardly say that the key to the knowledge of quaternary man had in fact been already found by Boucher de Perthes, whose first book had been published a year or two. But some years had to pass before his drift implements were accepted as evidence by geologists and archæologists, and it came to be admitted that no unimportant part of human history was really that to be "dug out of the bowels of the earth." It is fresh in our own recollection how difficult even professed antiquaries found it to accept these coarse implements as artificial at all. As late as 1862, I well remember the pitying smile with which the head of one of the great Continental museums of ethnography told me they did not trouble themselves with that sort of thing there.

Having thus compared the present state of Anthropology with its past as shown in the early days of the Ethnological Society of London, I think some remarks may be profitably made on the state of our science in Germany, as evidenced by the Berlin Society for Anthropology, Ethnology, and Primeval History. The "*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*," in which its proceedings are published, began in 1869. Early in 1871 we find its President, Prof. Virchow, congratulating the Society that though so soon after its foundation the tremendous war began in which many of its members took part, they had kept up their meetings and publications, intent on prosecuting, under all circumstances, their civilizing mission. In that year they numbered 144 members. In 1878 this number had steadily risen to 420 (Honorary 4, Corresponding 80, Ordinary 336). It is evident from the list that these members belong in great measure to the technically scientific class, and regularly take part in the meetings. The President even thinks it worth while gently to admonish some members who had resigned because they could not attend the meetings; he points out to them that even if they cannot come themselves, their subscriptions are beneficial. In the organisation of this Society it is to be remarked that the Presidency is so far permanent that we always find it held either by the eminent biologist, Prof. Virchow, or by the not less eminent anthropological traveller and student of culture, Prof. Adolf Bastian. It is evident that the combined labour of these two able men during so many successive years has been a main cause of the solid success and regular growth of the Society. Its financial arrangements differ from ours. In return for their moderate subscriptions, the members receive the "*Zeitschrift*" and another slighter publication, the value of these being actually more than the sum they subscribe. Two remarks of Prof. Virchow explain how this is managed: "Even with close economy our own income does not suffice to cover expenses"—"Had we not the subvention of the Cultus-Minister we should have to furnish our reports very scantily." It appears that the society is also provided with rooms by the State. The

President quite justifiably refers to this Government grant as well earned by the scientific work done for the nation. To anthropologists in England the idea of an annual payment by the Minister of Public Worship to the Anthropological Institute hardly comes within the range of expectation, yet we may perhaps look forward to being some day properly housed by the State in recognition of the practical value of our work. It is fair to say that State aid has no perceptible effect in impressing a governmental bias on the utterances of the German anthropologists, who indeed only now and then enliven their more abstract inquiries by allusion to concrete politics, as in an occasional fling at Ultramontanism, or when more than usual warmth appears in retorts to Quatrefages' theory of the barbarous Finno-Slavic race-character of the Prussians.

The Berlin Anthropological Society deserves our admiration for the generally high standard to which its papers are kept up; indeed, there are remarkably few in the whole "*Zeitschrift*," whether papers read before the Society or independent articles, which do not add something perceptible to the stock of knowledge. has not been our own habit to give in our Journal any regular summary of the work of foreign anthropologists, though I think it would be to our profit to do so. Thus it may not be out of place for me to mention here a few of the later contributions from Berlin to questions which have also been under discussion among English anthropologists.

Special mention may be made of the issue (as a supplement) of Vol. I. of Hartmann's "*Nigritians*," a work of great excellence and industry investigating the African races both as to body and mind. The portraits given may be taken to prove the author's case that the Retu or ancient Egyptians are still racially represented with little change by a large proportion of the modern Fellahin, especially in the villages. And a considerable probability may be inferred from other sets of portraits for the larger theory that these ancient Egyptians, far from being, as is often supposed, Asiatic in race-type, are most nearly allied to the Berabra or Berbers of Nubia and North Africa. I confess that

the little I have seen of the Berbers in the neighbourhood of Tangier fits with this view that the Egyptians belonged to the North African race, a hypothesis which of course does not contradict the also sound opinion of an immigration from Asia, which is strongly represented in the Semitic race-element in the lower part of the Nile Valley, and to which Asiatic immigration we may not unreasonably refer the start of the Egyptian high culture. Race-classification by skulls has been the subject of much careful inquiry in the Berlin Society. Prof. Virchow's examination of American skulls tells, in his opinion, strongly against the doctrine of American unity of race, and in favour of the continents having been peopled by several immigrating populations, such as the North-Western tribes whose type shows such marked East Asiatic affinities. The use of the craniological argument, in spite of its extreme difficulty, is well shown by a study of Tyrolese skulls, as referable to the brachycephalic race who appear to have preceded the Teutons in South Germany. On the subject of the hair as a race mark, Dr. Fritsch, author of the great work on the South Africans, also contributes some criticism of Pruner's scheme of the hair-sections of various races, which seems on comparison with the observations of Götte and Hilgendorf to require some revision. Late German observations of the habits of anthropoid apes in captivity are of great interest. Among the most curious of ape-biographies is that of the chimpanzee Mafuka, who lived some while at the Zoological Gardens at Dresden. This creature's observation and thought were remarkably evidenced in such feats as stealing and hiding the key of her cage, which she could easily unlock, her taking away the carpenter's bradawl and boring holes with it through her own table, and the skill with which when pouring from a jug into a smaller vessel she stopped short of overfilling it. The last act before her death was wonderfully human; she put her arms round the neck of her friend Herr Schöpf, the director, kissed him, and then giving him her hand lay down and died. Turning to the department of Prehistoric Archæology, we find much atten-

tion paid to the remarkable "brand-walls" or "brand-hills," stone and earth structures whose surfaces have been exposed to the action of fire. These "vitrified forts," as we have long been in the habit of calling them, and of which a good account was published by Dr. Daniel Wilson in his "*Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*," were once supposed to be peculiar to that country, but it now appears that they are common in Germany, where the effect of the ashes of the wood-fires in their vitrification is again noticed, as it already had been by Wilson. How and why these curious structures were fired has not yet been clearly made out. Remains of ancient field-cultivation in places now bare or tree-grown, offer no such difficulty as to their nature, though much as to the precise race and date of the ancient tillers of the soil. It appears from several papers of the Berlin Society as to the German "high-fields" or "heathen-fields" (*hochäcker*, *heiden-äcker*), that they correspond much in their situation on hills and wastes with the "elf-furrows" of Scotland, which popular mythology accounts for by the story of the fields having been put under a Papal interdict, so that people took to cultivating the hills. There seems reason to suppose that like the tilled plots in the Swedish forests which tradition ascribes to the old "hackers," the German heathen-fields represent tillage by an ancient and barbaric population. The prehistoric archæology of Sicily, brought into notice years ago by the researches of Dr. Falconer, is the subject of an interesting account by Baron von Andrian, who attempts to trace by the human remains the earliest history of the island, from the appearance of palæolithic man in the quaternary period on the north and north-west coast, followed by the increase and wider spread of population during the neolithic period when obsidian comes into use as a material for implements. Lastly, as to the department of culture, particular mention may be made of Dr. Pietschmann's discourse on the development of the Egyptian religious system, with its great deities, from local fetish and animal worship. Primitive systems of marriage, as to exogamy and endogamy, are discussed by Prof. Bastian in one of his valuable ethnographical papers.

Dr. Kulischer, in a remarkable dissertation on sexual selection in primitive times, builds upon the well-known fact that some of the lower races of man have a pairing-time, like the lower animals. In the savage and barbaric world, this pairing-time is especially fixed in spring and autumn, as the seasons of returning warmth and plenty, when festivals are held in which a main feature is what may be compactly described as the courting-dance, which is practically part and parcel of the matrimonial system. It is no new idea that civilized dancing is in great measure the representative of the courting-dances of a ruder state of society; indeed, we all know this is the case even with the decorous dances of the modern ball-room. But what Kulischer brings prominently into view is the extent to which the primitive pairing-time, with its appropriate dances and revels, survives in peasant-life in Europe, especially in old districts such as Finland and Carinthia. It is not only in Brittany that the custom of the annual bride-show lasted, with the girls sitting on the bridge to be chosen; the bride-market held on Ascension Day at Kindleben, near Gotha, with the dance round the old linden-tree, is described as still to be seen. The same author's later paper on "Intercommunal Marriages by Capture and Purchase," contains much interesting detail. In concluding these slender remarks on the late doings of our fellow-workers of Berlin, I have one more point to mention: The "Phœnician Inscription" discovered on the coast of Brazil, which, although laughed at by all competent ethnologists, has been even of late gravely cited as historical evidence of the Old-World colonization of America, is finally disposed of by Dr. Burmeister's statement that its discoverer now admits he was hoaxed by a mischievous colleague, who forged it.

To turn now to the work of our own Institute. Our papers of the past year include in physical anthropology an account by Prof. Flower of "The Osteology of the Andaman Islanders," whose skulls show an extraordinarily constant type, distinguishing them from any other race. With frizzy hair of elliptical type like the Bushman, they combine black skin

like the Negro, and a brachycephalic skull which differences them absolutely from both. Prof. Flower's materials for study of the Andamaners surpass those of any former observer, and he sees reason to believe that in this remarkable people, whose peculiarities have furnished much description and illustration to our journals, we have a type of the extremely ancient race from whom the negroid races of both the West and East are derived. To the same anatomist we owe an account of a mummy from Darnley Island, north of Australia, which had the eyes filled up with gum and mother-of-pearl imitation eyes fixed on, the body having also been carefully eviscerated through an opening in the side in a way which reminds us of Egyptian practice. This specimen will furnish an argument on the side of those who contend that the continent was peopled with an Australian race in no such savage state as that in which the modern natives are found. Mr. Brabrook's contribution on the colour of skin, hair, and eyes, marks the unerring exactness with which both tint and texture are now recorded, even the Broca's scale of 42 colours being subdivided each into some 20 shades. I must, however, call the attention of the Institute to the fact that the strictly anatomical and physiological papers have been fewer than their proper proportion. Historical ethnology is represented this year by Mr. Wylie's extracts from ancient Chinese annals. In general description and classification of races and their culture, we have had several excellent contributions. The eminent traveller, Prof. Arminius Vambéry, in a paper on the Turcomans, has put forward these tribes as the best representatives of the Turks in general, having remained comparatively free from the intermixture which has broken up the identity of the Kirghiz, &c. Their forehead is less broad and flat, and the eyes less almond-shaped than those of the Turks of the north-east of Central Asia, proving the transition from Mongol, and in language, also, Vambéry maintains them to be representative. How far this is change of type, and how far intermarriage, does not come out clearly. Thorough nomades, lax in Mohammedanism, but true to older customs, they retain

strong relics of Shamanism, as in sacrifices to the Manes. Mr. Keane's paper on "The relation of the Indo-Chinese and Inter-Oceanic Races and Languages," is based on the existence of a fair race as well as the yellow or Mongoloid in the Indo-Chinese region. Given these, Mr. Keane proposes to account for the Malay as a mixed type varying toward either of these two primaries. This paper will no doubt be the cause of further discussion, and I would call the special attention of philologists to Mr. Keane's claim to use the Khmer language, of which a dictionary has recently been published, as a link connecting the polysyllabic languages of Asia with the Malay family. Further investigation must show whether the claim will hold. Other information bearing on this interesting problem drops in from various sources. Colonel Yule's paper on "Analogies of Manners between the Indo-Chinese Races and the Races of the Indian Archipelago," leans, as its title implies, rather on similar customs than other evidence—as the head-hunting, prevalent among the Nagas of Assam and the Dayaks of Borneo, the building of pile-houses and the great village-houses in both districts, etc. The use of concrete numeral terms in the Malay languages, as "three swing of boxes," "two post of gods," corresponds with that of South-East Asia, as in the well-known Chinese expression which is translated in Chinese English as "piece." A late letter from China to a European in pigeon-English contains the sentence: "Just now my No. 3 piecy wife makee die, my just now thinky must catchy nother piece." A slight contribution of my own bears on the same question, where in examining the "Geographical Distribution of Games," I have endeavoured to show that the Polynesians, before the time of European intercourse, had in some way obtained from Asia such sports as kite-flying, a kind of draughts, the childish sport of "cat's cradle," etc.; while Polynesian mythology, in the idea of heaven and the underworld being formed of several concentric spheres, possesses an ancient Chaldean doctrine which probably passed through Hinduism into the native religions of Polynesia as far as New Zealand. On the whole, the view of the Asiatic

origin of Polynesian race and culture seems strengthening. Mr. Hyde Clarke read a paper on "Ethnology and Philology of early Asia." In Asiatic ethnology I may further mention Colonel Kincaid's interesting "Account of the Bheels," and Mr. Macalister and Captain Armit on "Australian Aborigines." We may hope to obtain in a compact form the substance of communications verbally given by Mr. H. Seeböhm on "Siberian Tribes." Dr. Hack Tuke's paper on "The Cagots," furnishes an interesting confirmation from the medical point of view of the judgment of De Rochas, that this interesting outcast race owes its contempt and isolation not to being of Gothic race nor heretic religion, but to descent from those unfortunates who were excluded from society as lepers.

Mr. Sollas has subjected to careful examination a set of Eskimo implements, among them the nail-like pins for fastening up the wounds of the struck animal, to prevent the escape of the blood, so much valued for food. In the history of civilization, Mr. Wake contributes a paper on the "Primitive Human Family," in which he criticises the views of McLennan and Morgan, himself leaning to the view that the original head of the family was the father, and thence paternal kinship the earliest, while he accounts for marriage by capture as done to avoid payment, thus placing it at a later stage than purchase. Mr. Wake will, I think, find his theory hard to maintain against the evidence of an early rude state of marriage law. This was never better put than in the passage from Nicolas Damascenus quoted by Bachofen, which describes the Galactophagi, "who are distinguished for equity, and have their goods and wives in common; therefore they call all the aged fathers, the younger men sons, and those of their own age brothers." Remnants of this old communal state of life seem to come before us in the Rev. Lorimer Fison's letter as to "Australian Marriage Customs," throwing light on the working of the system of class-marriage. It comes into view also in the Rev. James Sibree's interesting account of "Relationships in Madagascar," where the early indefiniteness of kinship is well shown by its being

needful to ask, when a father or mother is spoken of, "Do you mean the father who begot him, or only his uncle or stepfather?" and so with the mother. Clearly here is a remnant of family marriage like that of Nicolas's Milk-Eaters, and which, like the Madagascan orgies on "days not dead," that is, when no crime is punished with death, appears to have come down from an early promiscuous state of society.

In Prehistoric Archæology our year's work has been good. Mr. Worthington Smith has enlarged the area of palæolithic man in England, while Mr. Knowles' "Flint Implements from the North of Ireland," illustrates the Neolithic period. Miss Buckland contributes "Notes on Cornish and Irish Monuments," Mr. Lewis on "Irish Antiquities," and Mr. Mortimer on the barrow near Driffeld, called "Kemp How, Cowlam." Those of us who are inclined to look to the Scandinavians as great setters-up of rude stone monuments to commemorate the dead and mark the sites of battles, will read with particular interest Mr. Hilton Price's account of "The Three Stones or Trellech in Monmouthshire, called Harold's Stones," and said to record a victory of Harold over the Welshmen. It is to be hoped that some day our knowledge of the modern Asam standing-stones, which throw such light on the purpose of our prehistoric ones, may be enlarged by our having the opportunity of publishing copies of Mr. Peal's admirable drawings lately exhibited to the Institute. Sir Charles Nicholson's account of "Cave-Sculptures in Australia," is evidence which may be brought forward to prove that their ancestors were more artistic than the tribes in their present state. But Mr. Brough Smyth's recent important work drawn up for the Victorian Government, tends to show that the actual capacity and art of the natives have been generally estimated too low.

Mr. Westropp's paper on "Fetichism" combats the well-known theory of Prof. Max Müller, that fetish worship is to be regarded, not as a primitive phase of religion, but as a sort of side-development from a more advanced theistic faith. If we could admit Prof. Müller's starting-point of theology in a state like

that of the Aryans of the Veda, his consequence would no doubt follow. But I am bound to stand up for the opinion that the Vedic deities represent not a primitive, but a high and late stage of religion. So far as the evidence has come under my observation, it seems that fetichism appears as a concomitant both of low and high phases of theology, while its study is hampered by the additional difficulty that the fetish is in many cases not a divinely-possessed or inspired object at all, but only a magical object. If we could by some means distinguish certainly between these two acceptations, it might be the means of solving the general problem of fetichism. In the history of religion, the greatest difficulty lies in understanding practices which are devoutly performed by the worshipper though he has lost the clue to their meaning. This comes well into view in Mr. Walhouse's paper on "Rag-Bushes," where he collects evidence how in all quarters of the globe rags and such-like trumpery are hung on sacred trees. Here we have the form of sacrifice, but not the value or use in the object sacrificed, which alone can give it a rational origin and purpose. To the now popular problem of the development of ethical ideas belongs Mr. Farrer's paper on "Primitive Warfare." He traces the legal limitations under which war is carried on even in the rudest communities. The author may perhaps undertake the working out in further detail of this instructive subject, which has not received the attention it deserves, though the effect of war in consolidating government, and putting society under the strict discipline which earliest belongs to the war-party, has been dealt with by several writers.

In conclusion, it remains for me to say that no society has its work more plainly laid out for it than ours. In physical anthropology, comparative philology, and the science of culture, the inquirer has no need to go in quest of subjects to which he may devote research. In all our topics a promising beginning has been made, but neither in the study of the human body, nor of language, nor of civilization, has any approach to a final settlement of doctrine been made. The early dogmatism which

belongs to mere want of knowledge of the difficulties, is passing away in Anthropology. The later dogmatism which may one day be founded on completer knowledge will not have its standing-ground for many a year. It is no unpleasant position to stand as we do in the great middle region, where there is still room for the widest divergence of theory, but yet evidence enough to give an idea whether any particular theory is tending or not toward ultimate truth.

A. W. FRANKS, Esq., F.R.S., moved, and Major-Gen. A. LANE FOX, F.R.S., seconded, a vote of thanks to the President; and that the Address be printed in the Journal of the Institute.

The Scrutineers gave in their report of the ballot, and the following gentlemen were declared to be duly elected to serve as Officers and Council for the ensuing year:—

President.—E. B. Tylor, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S.

Vice-Presidents.—Hyde Clarke, Esq.; John Evans, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S.; Prof. W. H. Flower, F.R.S.; Maj.-Gen. A. Lane Fox, F.R.S.; Francis Galton, Esq., F.R.S.; Dr. Allen Thompson, F.R.S.

Directors and Hon. Secs.—E. W. Brabrook, Esq., F.S.A.; W. L. Distant, Esq.; J. E. Price, Esq., F.S.A.

Treasurer.—F. G. H. Price, Esq., F.G.S.

Council.—Lt.-Col. Godwin Austen; J. Beddoe, Esq., M.D., F.R.S.; Prof. George Busk, F.R.S.; C. H. E. Carmichael, Esq., M.A.; W. Boyd Dawkins, Esq., F.R.S.; Sebastian Evans, Esq., LL.D.; A. W. Franks, Esq., M.A., F.R.S.; Baron A. von Hugel; Prof. Huxley, F.R.S.; A. H. Keane, Esq., B.A.; A. L. Lewis, Esq.; Sir J. Lubbock, Bart., M.P.; R. Biddulph Martin, Esq.; the Earl of Northesk, F.S.A.; Prof. Rolleston, M.D., F.R.S.; F. W. Rudler, Esq., F.G.S.; Lord Arthur Russell, M.P.; Rev. Prof. Sayce, M.A., M.R.A.S.; Alfred Tylor, Esq., F.G.S.; C. Staniland Wake, Esq.; M. J. Walhouse, Esq., F.R.A.S.

On the motion of Mr. W. L. DISTANT, seconded by Mr. BRABROOK, thanks were returned to the scrutineers.

Mr. BRABROOK moved, and Mr. RANGER seconded, a vote of thanks to the retiring members of the Council, which was carried unanimously.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL MISCELLANEA.

CUSTOMS OF THE AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES.

THE following notes are extracted from a communication forwarded to the Institute by Captain William E. Armit, F.L.S. They relate to practices still existing among the tribes of the Australian continent and will be perused with interest as the result of resident observation.

Captain Armit writes: "The natives of the north-west coast are visited yearly by Malay Prahus brought over to trade for pearl shells, beche-de-mer, &c. These Malays have, by interbreeding, considerably altered the races inhabiting that portion of the continent. We here find bold and aggressive savages, who have lost the dread of the white man evinced by all inland blacks. They practise the rite of circumcision and are in several other points superior to the other tribes. It is, however, singular that their customs should prevail through the whole length and breadth of Australia. It cannot be accounted for by the intercourse existing between the above mentioned tribes and the Malay Archipelago, as if introduced by the latter they would merely be found amongst these tribes and not inland, a constant war being waged between tribe and tribe; they must therefore owe their introduction to very remote times when perhaps access to this country was much less difficult than it is at present.

"The law enacted in Leviticus xii. ver. 2-4, is observed by all the tribes with which I have come in contact during twelve years' sojourn in the country between Brisbane and Carpentaria. The women are rigorously excluded for a month or six weeks after childbirth, and during this period the father does not see his offspring.

"Again, Leviticus xv. ver. 19, enacts another law which is also universally respected and obeyed by the Australian blacks. In one instance near Townsville, in 1870, a case came under my notice where a Gin was put to death for having gone into her husband's Mi-Mi and lain in his blanket during her period of menstruation. In this instance the black-fellow had slept in his humpy as usual, and did not discover that the Gin had used his bed until the next day, when he killed the woman, and his own superstitious dread of evil killed him within a fortnight! That such laws should be respected by races who in point of psychological power rank scarcely

higher than the Andamanese would be inexplicable were it not obvious that they are merely sanitary laws, a breach of which, often repeated, would lead to the most miserable consequences.

"Nor is it likely that these laws would have been binding with such low savages as our Australians, had they not been clothed in the garb of superstition, with penal clauses, entailing no less a penalty than death on the persons violating them. The women under quarantine are secluded from the rest of the camp, nor will a black-fellow approach them under any circumstances. I have repeatedly been amused by seeing my troopers make a *détour* to avoid crossing the tracks of the *Gin* or *Gins* who occupied the quarantine hut. Mr. Wallace alludes to the custom of secluding women at child-birth as prevalent in Celebes and Borneo among the *Dyaks* and other savage tribes.* The rite of circumcision is also practised by several Australian tribes, and was noticed by Doctor Comrie, R.N., when visiting the south-eastern peninsula of New Guinea in H.M.S. 'Basilisk.' The custom is, I believe, also known to exist in New Zealand.

"One of my troopers, a native of the Leichhardt river, Carpentaria, informs me that a curious custom is observed in his tribe. The first-born of any couple is treated with great affection and made much of until his younger brother attains the age of manhood. When this happens the father quarrels with his eldest son, beats and illtreats him, and ultimately drives him from the camp with curses and every mark of aversion. A lapse of one month finds the whole tribe encamped on the same spot, and the outcast son rejoins his tribe, his presence being henceforth tolerated, but he remains a stranger to his family.

"That such laws should exist at all in the nineteenth century among such savage races is most interesting, and I think points clearly to the fact that they must in prehistoric ages have held intercourse with Asia or the Old World, and with the Semitic branch of the Caucasian race; or, which is perhaps still more probable, with a people who derived many of their manners, customs, and traditions from that race.

"We have only to study the different types of man, as found in the Archipelago, to have this conclusion forced upon our minds."

The GREAT TOE of the ANNAMITE. By CHARLES F. TREMLETT,
H.B.M. Consul, Saigon, 15th November, 1879.

GIAO-CHI,

交趾

FIRST to show what these characters mean and to mark their application to the Annamite.

In his "*Notes pour l'histoire de la nation Annamite*," Père Legrand de la Lyraye says that the existence of the country of the

* "*Malay Archipelago*," p. 217. Fourth Edition, 1872.

Giao-Chi is mentioned in Chinese annals of 2285 B.C. or 63 years after the deluge. The name is composed of two Chinese characters, meaning "crossed toes." Several books spell it "Kiao-tye," Kiao meaning "to cross," and tye "toe." The Rev. Father, who died four years since, was well versed in Chinese literature, and his "Notes" may be found at the Missions Etrangères at Paris, at the Ministère de la Marine, or in the columns of the "Courrier de Saigon" for 1869.

At a later date than that first noted, viz. 1109 B.C., the name again appears in Chinese records, in connection with two Annamite ambassadors who were sent to the Emperor Thauh-Tuong (dynasty Tchian) with tribute: these two citations of this peculiar name at such remote periods, and there are probably more instances, should have weight.

Père Thalerd, in his "Dictionary Annamitico-Latin," gives the meaning of Giao-chi as "Cocincinensis," but adds that the expression is used as one of contempt, so used by the Chinese probably, for the Annamese are without doubt proud of the distinction: the dictionary mentioned was printed in 1838.

At any rate there is no question that the ancient name of the whole country was Giao-chi, for it has never ceased to bear that designation, as is noted at various intervals up to modern times.

Conformation.

The peculiarity consists in the great toe being at an angle to the others instead of parallel with them; it is much like the thumb of the hand and not to be confounded in its action with the usual freedom with which many natives are able to use their feet, for this is quite independent of the other toes and entirely characteristic of Annamese.

Doctor Mondière in a report read at the Société d'Anthropologie, Paris, 5th February, 1874, regrets very much that he had no opportunity of dissecting a foot; and, indeed, it seems very strange that more interest should not have been shown about such a remarkable thing; it is supposed that there is a muscle similar to that of the monkey. The respect shown by the natives for their dead is given as a reason why a foot cannot be obtained, but surely there must sometimes occur cases of amputation?

Doctor Mondière has been stationed at Hue for two years with the French Legation, and may have learned many more interesting facts than have yet been published.

Doctor Thérél, a member of the "Exploration du Meikong" (published by Hachette, Paris, 1873), says in the "Notes Anthropologique" that the confirmation of the foot of the Annamite race is a proof that it is aboriginal, and not a mixture of Chinese and savages, as at one time was attempted to be shown, for such conformation is confined to them and does not exist in the neighbouring Chinese provinces, and moreover disappears in the progeny of mixed races. It is a common thing in Tongking and the adjacent mountains, but

is not frequently seen in the other parts of the empire where the race has intermingled with other peoples.

CHAS. F. TREMLETT, H.B.M. Consul.

Saigon, 15th November, 1879.

THE GODEFFROY MUSEUM OF HAMBURG.

THE unfortunate position of the affairs of the founder of this Institution has lately given publicity to its existence and the question of its future is now being anxiously discussed. It has grown up from a modest commencement, and has, more especially in the course of the last twenty years, gradually increased until it now occupies a position of great importance amongst scientists, and it is somewhat unique in its way.

Although well known to those interested, the public has had little opportunity of studying its curiosities and the majority of our citizens never have seen it. We therefore venture to draw a slight sketch of it.

The Godeffroy Museum has to thank its origin to the sending out of travellers by the firm of J. C. Godeffroy and Son, and the collections thus brought home from the Pacific Ocean and East Coast of Australia were confided to scientific authorities, to be named and classified by them, and to be combined with new specimens of those species already known. Up to the present, however, of the zoological sections, only the mammalia, fish, reptiles, and amphibious creatures are yet in positions.

The most noticeable of the sections are the coral and the bird collections, as also the magnificent collection of sea-urchins, star fish, and sea anemones; the beautiful collection of spiders, centipedes, and insects, containing splendid butterflies, chafers, and locusts, must also be mentioned.

A large number of specimens of reptiles, fishes, mammalia, and amphibious animals are lying in the stores of the museum ready to be put up. Including the zoological, the anthropological collection of skulls, skeletons, castings in plaster and photographs of natives, and the ethnological collections, more than 3,000 objects are already placed in order.

Specimens of the latter branch of science will never before have been collected in such completeness even for a limited area, and it will be impossible in the future to bring such a collection together, as in the Pacific Ocean, ironware and objects of civilized culture are bartered with the native in exchange for the products of his industry, and aboriginal manners and customs too soon disappear. For example, one of the native war-clubs, not unlike our ancient weapons, which sixteen years ago was to be had for an empty beer or pickle bottle, now costs in the Fiji Islands £5 or more.

In the ethnological section, the eastern side of Australia, Fiji Islands, New Hebrides, Salomon Islands, Kingsmill Islands, New Britain, and the Caroline Archipelago are specially represented.

In the anthropological sections, we would specially mention eight skeletons of Australian negroes, of which in the whole of Europe there are only six others to be found. Also to be noticed are 30 Fiji skeletons, and a rich collection of skulls from the Fiji Islands and the New Britain Archipelago, and from the New Hebrides a number of skulls deformed in the same manner as the skulls found in the old Inca tombs of Peru.

From the foregoing, the scientific value of the collection will be clearly seen, as it may be said to have opened the way to our scientific knowledge of the Pacific Ocean, and the greater part of the publications of the last ten years, relating to zoological, botanical, ethnological, anthropological, and other subjects of this nature, have been founded on the material now before us.

The special characteristic of the museum consists in its limitations to one district, and through the continued researches of years, it puts plainly before us, and with the utmost fidelity, the highly interesting conditions of life which exist on those distant islands as well in nature as in the people. In these islands, as in all the larger islands of the Pacific, we find that besides those forms of animal and vegetable life which are common to all, there are also specimens which are peculiar to each island or group of islands, and these peculiarities are manifested in the life and nature of the native as well as in the animal and vegetable world. For example, though many varieties of pigeons are common to the whole of the Pacific Ocean, we find on the Samoa Islands one variety, the *Dedunculus*, which is peculiar to these islands, and in like manner the Fiji Islands have the variety called the *Chrysoenas*, which is confined to their shores. We find likewise in every group special forms of weapons and implements which are peculiar to them, besides those varieties which, if slightly modified, are also used in the other islands and groups. The Fijians, for instance, have peculiar to themselves a special form of war club, not unlike the ancient "morning star," of which the handles are mostly ornamented with beautiful carved work, and all more or less polished; on the Samoa Islands, we find a club with a flat blade, both edges being cut into saw-like teeth; it is not polished, but sometimes entirely covered with carved work. On the Tonga Islands a club is used of which the round handle gradually becomes a very broad blade with scooped-out edges; in the Kingsmill Archipelago, the club is changed into a flat sword-like piece, both sides of which are set with sharks' teeth; in the New Britain Archipelago, the club consists of a stick pointed at one end, and gradually increasing in thickness to the other, near which is fastened a stone ring; and many more examples might be quoted.

If we consider the various industries of the natives, for instance, we find that the Fijian is skilled in making ornaments out of the teeth of the sperm whale; among the articles thus made deserving of special mention are splendid breastplates which are made either entirely of these teeth or the foundation of mother-of-pearl, with the teeth worked in, or ornaments of this material are fastened on;

among the Solomon Islanders we find another art more advanced; a great number of their arms and ornaments are very tastefully and originally inlaid with mother-of-pearl. The inhabitants of the Kingsmill Archipelago are likewise very clever in embellishing their weapons with sharks' teeth as well as their ornaments of mussel shells.

In the Caroline Archipelago, the art of making ornaments is brought to great perfection, for there we find belts, necklaces, ear-rings, &c., which often consist of many hundred small rings prepared from cocoa-nut shells worked together.

Among the natives of the New Britain Archipelago, great perfection in the art of carving meets us, and the multitude of designs is exceedingly astonishing, especially if we consider the very primitive tools with which these carvings are executed.

Such a picture of the life and nature of a region as we have here presented to our view is only to be obtained if, as we have already mentioned, the researches are confined to one spot; only then is such a result to be obtained as is now before us, and which has for ever ensured to itself an honoured name in the scientific world.

Having thus taken a short survey of this very interesting collection, the question now remains what is to become of it? It is plainly evident that if it were sold in separate parts, and the various objects distributed about the world, the museum would lose its scientific interest. Whatever therefore becomes of the collection, whether it remains in Hamburg or is sold into other hands, it ought for the benefit of science to be kept intact.—("Hamburgischer Correspondent," No. 292, 9th December, 1879.)

NOTICE OF AN INTERESTING PUEBLO WEAPON.

By W. J. HOFFMAN, M.D.

ONE of the most singular weapons found in use among any of the North American tribes is the Zuñi *Kle'-a-ne*, an instrument similar to the Australian "boomerang." The specimens recently collected in New Mexico vary but little in form from those used by the Moqui of Arizona, the characteristic features of the latter are that they are a trifle shorter and perhaps more abruptly bent. They are made either of ash or oak wood, from eighteen to twenty-four inches long, one and a half to two inches broad, and about three-eighths of an inch thick along the middle ridge, growing gradually thinner toward either edge. The form varies from that of a slight curvature resembling a cavalry sabre to that of an obtuse angle of 130°, these being the extremes, the normal curve or angle, as the case may be, being nearer the latter. In one instance I noticed a Moqui weapon bent to nearly a right angle, the bend being as abrupt as the fibres of the wood would admit without breaking.

One end of the weapon is generally somewhat narrowed, with the edges rounded so as to be more easily and securely grasped for throwing. Some of them are often painted, usually white with

oblique stripes of green or some other common colour, according to the fancy of the maker or possessor.

Neither the Zuni nor the Morqui are acquainted with the art of producing those effects, nor the feats which are peculiar to and practised by the Australians, and the only way in which the *kleane* is successfully used in securing small game, such as rabbits, etc., is by throwing it horizontally and directly forward toward the object. There is scarcely any doubt but that if these Indians were instructed in the proper manner of handling this weapon, they might acquire, at least to some extent, that skill possessed by the average Australian; and it is remarkable that this has not been discovered through accident as the weapon appears to have been an independent discovery and not transmitted to them from any other tribes, as no traces of a similar instrument have as yet been detected; neither from ancestors, as their probable predecessors, the "ancient Pueblos," have left no relics of like character, although numerous specimens of art of a more destructible nature are found in abundance in the various ruined communal and cliff dwellings.

WOLF-REARED CHILDREN (extracted from "Jungle Life in India," page 454 *et seq.*). By V. BALL, M.A., of the Geological Survey of India.

FROM Delhi I pushed on to Agra, arriving there on the morning of the 3rd of August. Having seen some of the sights of the city, I drove to Sekandra, in order to visit the Orphanage, and avail myself of the opportunity for the first time afforded to me of making inquiries on the spot regarding the reputed finding of boys living with wolves as their foster parents. A year previously, as I shall presently show, I had been instrumental in drawing attention to the cases of wolf-reared children which had been reported, and I was most anxious to examine one of the boys myself. But before giving an account of the results of my inquiries, and a *résumé* of the existing literature of the subject, I wish to say, by way of preface, that I have found that this subject is one of those which the majority of people seem unable to discuss without prejudice. They make up their minds that the whole thing is a myth before they have heard what evidence can be adduced in its favour. I am, unfortunately, not in a position to give any personal testimony of importance; all that I can do is to place the evidence available before the candid reader. In my first published communication on this subject which I made to a learned Society,* I advocated, what I also do now, that the matter should, on the first recurrence of an opportunity, be most strictly inquired into, and that it should not in future be approached in the hostile and incredulous spirit which has hitherto prevailed. My paper, which was presented during my

* *Vide* "Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1873," p. 128.

absence in Europe, met with some opposition, but subsequently saw the light in the form of an abstract.

About that time I received the following letter from a gentleman who did not wish his name mentioned in any discussion on the matter:—

“Dear Sir,

“Shajehanpur.

“I see your name mentioned in the newspapers as one who leans to the belief that children have been nourished by wolves. And as there are sceptics who will have that you labour under a delusion, it may be interesting to you to learn a few particulars about a wolf-man who was for many years living in this city.

“He was sent in by Col. Sleeman, and a Mahomedan took charge of him. The Mutiny occurring, this protector disappeared, and then the poor fellow came under my notice. At the time he might have been about 20 years of age. I took a little interest in him and tried to make him work; but found that it was not possible to keep him at it. I tried him with food from the table and he was guided by smell, rejecting such portions as did not please him. His recognition was a grunt.

“The hands were bent back but were not stiff, and when taking anything these retained the position instead of clutching. He walked on the front portion of the foot—the heels being slightly raised, and he walked with his knees bent; in fact, one could readily suppose that he had as a child progressed in a stooping position, using both hands and feet.

“He lived in a corner, with his legs brought up to his chin, and placed his food under anything that he might have to lie on, straw or old bedding. Clothes he would not wear, but was induced to keep on the usual strip, and this probably because he had been beaten at first and made to comply with customs so far.

“The man is now dead. I cannot vouch that he had been nourished by a wolf, but the natives of the city believed that he had been so brought up, etc. etc.

“He had not learnt to speak, he simply grunted and looked at persons askant, with the cunning silly leer above referred to.

“Yours, &c.”

It however attracted the attention of Professor Max Müller, who, in the pages of the “Academy,” pointed out the importance of the subject, and quoted a selection from the recorded cases of wolf-reared children. At the same time he strongly urged upon sportsmen, naturalists, and district officials, the desirability of carefully investigating on the spot, the probability and possibility of such cases being true.

The story of Romulus and Remus is not by any means singular. There are many other gods and heroes of antiquity who are stated to have been suckled by wolves, and whose histories are regarded

as wholly mythical in consequence of the presence of this element. If the case of a child being suckled and reared by wolves can be established as a physical possibility by a single well-authenticated case in India, such histories will assume a totally new aspect, and will have a chance of being accepted as true in their entirety.

Shakespeare alludes to the existence of a belief in such stories :—

ANTIGONUS.

"Come on, poor babe :

Some powerful spirit instruct the kites and ravens

To be thy nurses ! Wolves and bears, they say,

Casting their savageness aside have done

Like offices of pity."

"Winter's Tale," Act II., Scene 3, Line 185.

Most of the recorded Indian cases, I believe, come from the province of Oude. This is possibly in a great measure attributable to the fact that the number of children carried away and killed by wolves is greater there than elsewhere. According to a table which I possess, the loss of life in the province attributed to this cause for the seven years from 1867 to 1873 inclusive, averaged upwards of 100 *per annum*.

According to Colonel Sleeman,* as quoted by Professor Max Müller, the number of little victims carried off to be devoured is so great in some parts of India, that people make a living by collecting from the dens of wild animals the gold ornaments with which children in India are always decked out by their parents. It is said even that those people are unwilling to take part in any wholesale destruction of wolves for fear of losing their livelihood.

The *modus operandi* adopted by the wolf has been thus described† :—"Night comes on, the wolf shirks about the village site, marking the unguarded hut. It comes to one protected by a low wall, or closed by an ill-fitting *tattie* (mat). Inside, the mother, wearied by the long day's work, is asleep with her child in her arms, unconscious of the danger at hand. The wolf makes its spring, fastens its teeth in the baby-throat, slings the little body across its back, and is off before the mother is fully aware of her loss. Pursuit is generally useless. If forced to drop its burden the cruel creature tears it beyond power of healing, while should it elude pursuit, the morning's search results in the discovery of a few bones, the remnants of the dreadful meal."

Shortly after this visit of mine to Agra, I read the following in the papers. The hotel mentioned was the very one at which I had stopped :—"On Saturday night while the chowkidar at Falmon's Star Hotel was going his rounds, he observed a screen hanging before an open door moving, and something from the outside enter the house. On giving the alarm, the wife of the hotel-keeper had only just time to enter a room and save a sleeping child from the mercies of two wolves which she found there."

* "Journey through the Kingdom of Oude," 1858, vol. i. p. 208.

† Correspondent of the "Pioneer," Nov. 25th, 1874.

It is remarkable that in some countries wolves rarely attack human beings. I have recently read an interesting work on wolf-hunting in Brittany, in which the author describes the ravages committed by wolves among cattle and horses, but states that human beings are not attacked. He relates a strange but apparently well-authenticated story of a little girl who followed up a wolf into the forest, where it had carried a goat which she was tending. For six weeks she was lost; but at the end of that time presented herself at a charcoal-burner's hut. During this long period she had wandered through the wolves' strongholds, and had managed to subsist on berries. Be this story true or not, it is a fact that children are not carried away by wolves in Brittany as they are in Oude. It suggests itself that the Oude wolves are a local race of man-eaters, characterised by an exceptional liking for human flesh. That wolves in all European countries where they are found will attack and devour man, when in packs, in severe winter weather, is well known, and does not require further notice.

My attention was, in the first place, drawn to this subject by the following extract from the Report of the Sekandra Orphanage, which, towards the end of the year 1872, went the round of the Indian papers:—

"A boy of about ten was burned out of a den in the company of wolves. How long he had been with them it is impossible to say, but it must have been rather a long period, from the facility he has for going on all-fours, and his liking for raw meat. As yet he is very much like a wild animal; his very whine reminds one of a young dog or some such creature. Some years ago we had a similar child; he has picked up wonderfully, and though he has not learned to speak, can fully express his joys and grief. We trust the new 'unfortunate' may soon improve too."

I immediately wrote to the Superintendent of the Sekandra Orphanage for confirmation of the story, and for any further information on the subject. To this application I received the following reply from the Rev. Mr. Erhardt. * * * "We have had two such boys here, but I fancy you refer to the one who was brought to us on March 6th, 1872. He was found by Hindus who had gone hunting wolves in the neighbourhood of Mynepuri. Had been burnt out of the den, and was brought here with the scars and wounds still on him. In his habits he was a perfect wild animal in every point of view. He drank like a dog, and liked a bone and raw meat better than anything else. He would never remain with the other boys, but hid away in any dark corner. Clothes he never would wear, but tore them up into fine shreds. He was only a few months among us, as he got fever and gave up eating. We kept him up for a time by artificial means, but eventually he died.

"The other boy found among wolves is about thirteen or fourteen years old, and has been here about six. He has learnt to make sounds, speak he cannot; but he freely expresses his anger and joy. Work he will at times, a little; but he likes eating better. His civilisation has progressed so far as that he likes raw meat

less, though he still will pick up bones and sharpen his teeth on them.

"Neither of the above are new cases, however. At the Lucknow Madhouse there was an elderly fellow only four years ago, and may be alive now, who had been dug out of a wolves' den by a European doctor, when, I forget, but it must be a good number of years ago.

"The facility with which they get along on four feet (hands and feet) is surprising. Before they eat or taste any food they smell it, and when they don't like the smell they throw it away."



I shall now describe the result of my visit to the Orphanage. On my arrival there, Mr. Erhardt very kindly sent over for the boy to the school and he was led in by the hand. He presented an appearance not uncommonly seen in ordinary idiots. His forehead was low, his teeth somewhat prominent, and his manner restless and fidgety. From time to time he grinned in a manner that was more Simian than human, the effect of which was intensified by a nervous twitching of the lower jaw. After taking a sort of survey of the room and the people in it, he squatted on the ground, and constantly placing the palms of his hands on the floor stretched forward in different directions, picking up small objects, such as fragments of paper, crumbs, etc., and smelling them as a monkey would do. I was told that he depends much more upon the organ of smell than that of taste for the identification of objects,* and his conduct while I watched him fully bore out the statement. On being shown a guava he exhibited much excitement, writhing about

* In connection with this it may be of interest to quote a passage from Darwin's "Descent of Man," First Edition, p. 24: "The sense of smell is of extremely slight service, if any, to savages, in whom it is more highly developed than in the civilised races."

and stretching out his hands for it. When it was given to him he first smelt it all over very carefully, and then holding it close to his mouth proceeded to gnaw it. He was then given some unripe *Karaunda** fruit. Having smelt it he showed signs of uneasiness which were interpreted by those standing by as indicating a want of salt to allay the acidity—it having been given to him on previous occasions. He is a somewhat slenderly-built lad, standing about five feet three inches, and is considered by Mr. Erhardt to be about fifteen years of age, and had been then (1874) nearly nine years in the Orphanage. He is described as being of a happy temperament. He has got some knowledge of locality and can go about the grounds by himself, but could not do so when Mr. Erhardt first took charge of the Orphanage. Without constant supervision it is found to be impossible to keep him to any work. He will, for instance, carry a basket while watched, but immediately drops it when left alone. The feature in his physical structure which above all others attracted my particular notice was the shortness of his arms, the total length being only nineteen-and-a-half inches. This arrested growth was probably caused by the fact of his having gone on all-fours in early life, as all these wolf-boys are reported to have done when first captured. Mr. Erhardt not having been in charge of the Orphanage when this boy was brought in, could give no further particulars regarding his capture than those contained in his above-quoted letters; but a native guide in Agra, whom I interrogated as to whether he had any knowledge of the subject, told me that rather less than nine years previously he was in the magistrate's court, when this boy, the body of an old female wolf, and two wolf cubs were brought in. At that time the boy was a perfect *Janwar* (wild beast). He went on all-fours, refused all kinds of cooked food, but would eat any amount of raw meat. For some time he was kept by the Civil Surgeon of Agra bound down on a *charpoy*, or native bedstead, in order to straighten his legs, and several months passed before he was able to maintain an erect position.

Regarding the boy which was brought to the Orphanage on the 5th of March, 1872, Mr. Erhardt said that on his arrival he would not touch any food in the form used by human beings; at the same time he was too young and weak to have provided himself with any, but he would eat raw meat ravenously. Observing these facts and also sundry wounds and burns on the body, Mr. Erhardt sent for the people who had brought in the child, and then first heard that he had been smoked out of a wolf's den. While he lived at the Orphanage, which was for only about four months, he used occasionally to get loose at night, when he would prowls about the ground searching for bones. Shortly after his arrival he made an effort to escape into the jungle, but was captured and brought back. During the whole time he uttered no sound save a melancholy whine like that made by young cubs. A strange bond of sympathy

* "*Carissa Carandus*," Linn.

attached these two boys together, and the elder one first taught the younger to drink out of a cup. While the younger boy remained alive Hindus frequently came to the Orphanage and applied for permission to make their salaam to him, being under the impression that by so doing they, through his influence with the wolves, would avert any loss or injury to their families and flocks. I shall now give some of the previously recorded cases.

A short notice on this subject* was communicated to the "Annals and Magazine of Natural History,"† by the late Sir Roderick J. Murchison. It consists of an extract from the journal of the Hon. Captain Francis Egerton, R.N., who, on the authority of Colonel Sleeman, relates several stories of these wolf-reared children. Colonel Sleeman knew of five instances, in two of which he had both seen the children and was acquainted with the circumstances of the capture. One of these captures was made in the following manner:—"Some time ago, two of the King of Oude's sowars, riding along the banks of the Gúmptji, saw three animals come down to drink. Two were evidently young wolves, but the third was as evidently some other animal. The sowars rushed in upon them and captured all three, and to their great surprise found that one was a small naked boy. He was on all-fours like his companions, had callosities on his knees and elbows, evidently caused by the attitude used in moving about, and bit and scratched violently in resisting the capture. The boy was brought up in Lucknow, where he lived some time, and may for aught I know be living still. He was quite unable to articulate words, but had a dog-like intellect, quick at understanding signs, and so on." It seems probable that this was the same individual as the one mentioned in the letter from the Superintendent of the Sekandra Orphanage above quoted. The following occurs in Captain Egerton's journal:—"There was another more wonderful but hardly so well authenticated story of a boy who never could get rid of a strong wolfish smell, and who was seen, not long after his capture, to be visited by three wolves, which came evidently with hostile intentions, but which, after closely examining him, he seeming not the least alarmed, played with him, and some nights afterwards brought their relations, making the number of visitors amount to five, the number of cubs the litter he had been taken from was composed of." I think Colonel Sleeman believed this story to be perfectly true, though he could not vouch for it.

The following passages I quote *verbatim* from Professor Max Müller's letter:—"A trooper, sent by the native Governor of Chandour to demand payment of some revenue, was passing along the banks of the river about noon, when he saw a large female wOLF leave her den, followed by three whelps and a little boy. The

* Since this account was published, my attention has been drawn by Mr. W. L. Distant to a paper entitled "Wild Men and Beast Children" (*Anthropological Review and Journal of the Anthropological Society*, vol. i, 1868), and which I regret not having seen earlier.

† Vol. viii, Second Series, 1851, p. 153.

boy went on all-fours, and when the trooper tried to catch him, he ran as fast as the whelps, and kept up with the old one. They all entered the den, but were dug out by the people with pickaxes, and the boy was secured. He struggled hard to rush into every hole or den they came near. He became alarmed when he saw a grown-up person, but tried to fly at children and bite them. He rejected cooked meat with disgust, but delighted in raw flesh and bones, putting them under his paws like a dog. They tried to make him speak, but could get nothing from him but an angry growl or snarl.

"So far the evidence rests on native witnesses, and might be considered as more or less doubtful; but the boy, after having spent a time with the Raja of Harunpur, was afterwards forwarded to Captain Nicholetts, the European officer commanding the 1st Regiment of Oude Local Infantry at Sultanpur. Captain Nicholetts made him over to the charge of his servants, and their accounts completely confirm what was stated before. The wolf-child would devour anything, but preferred raw meat. He once ate half a lamb without any effort. He never kept on any kind of clothing; and a quilt, stuffed with cotton, given to him in the cold weather, was torn by him and partly swallowed.

"In a letter, dated the 17th and 19th September, 1850, Captain Nicholetts informed Colonel Sleeman that the boy had died at the latter end of August. He had never been known to laugh or smile. He formed no attachment, and seemed to understand little of what was said to him. He was about nine years old when found, and lived about three years afterwards. He would run on all-fours, but occasionally he walked uprightly. He never spoke, but when he was hungry he pointed to his mouth. Only within a few minutes before his death, the servants relate that he put his hands to his head, and said it ached, and asked for water; he drank it and died.

"Another instance is related as having occurred at Chupra. In March, 1843, a man and his wife went out to cut their crop of wheat. The woman was leading her boy, who had lately recovered from a severe scald on the left knee. While his parents were engaged, the child was carried off by a wolf. In 1849, a wolf with three cubs was seen, about ten miles from Chupra, followed by a boy. The boy, after a fierce resistance, was caught, and was recognised by the poor cultivator's widow by the mark of a scald on the left knee and three marks of the teeth of an animal on each side of his back. He would eat nothing but raw flesh, and could never be brought to speak. He used to mutter something, but never articulated any word distinctly. The front of his knees and elbows had become hardened from going on all-fours with the wolves. In November, 1850, Captain Nicholetts ordered this boy to be sent to Colonel Sleeman, but he got alarmed, and ran to a jungle.

"The evidence, therefore, of this case rests, to a certain extent, on native authority, and should be accepted with that reservation.

The same applies to a third case, vouched for by the Raja of Husunpur, which adds, however, nothing essential, except that the boy, as seen by him in 1843, had actually short hair all over his body, which disappeared when he took to eating salt. He could walk on his legs, but he could not speak. *He could be made to understand signs very well, but would utter sounds like wild animals.*

"Another, a fourth case, however, is vouched for again by European witnesses. Colonel Gray, who commanded the 1st Oude Local Infantry at Sultanpur, and Mrs. Gray, and all the officers of the place, saw a boy who, in 1843, had been caught while trotting along upon all-fours, by the side of a wolf. *He could never be made to speak, and at last ran away into the jungle.*

"A fifth case rests on the evidence of a respectable landowner of Bankipur, in the estate of Husanpur, called Zulfukar Khan. Here, too, the boy—who had been six years old when carried off, who was ten when rescued—could not be brought to speak, though it was easy to communicate with him by signs.

"One other statement of a wolf-boy is given by Colonel Sleenman; but as it rests on native evidence only, I will only add that this boy also, when caught, walked on all-fours, ate raw meat, and smelt like a wolf. He was treated kindly; but though he learnt to behave better and walk uprightly, *he never could understand or utter a word, though he seemed to understand signs.*

"There are other cases, but those which I have selected are to my mind the best attested. They all share one feature in common, which is of importance to the student of language more even than the student of mythology, viz.: the speechlessness of the wolf-children. It was this fact, more than the bearing of these stories on a problem of mythology, which first made me collect the evidence here produced; for as we are no longer sufficiently wolfish to try the experiment which is said to have been tried by a King of Egypt, by Frederic II, James IV, and one of the Mogul Emperors of India ("Lectures on the Science of Language," 7th ed., vol. i, p. 394), viz.: to keep babies in solitary confinement, in order to find out what language, if any, they would speak, these cases of children reared by wolves afford the only experimental test for determining whether language is an hereditary instinct or not."

Supposing the above stories to be true, the only suggestions which I can offer to account for the preservation of the children from the ordinary fate, are that, firstly, it may be that while one of a pair of wolves has brought back a live child to the den, the other may have contributed a sheep or goat to the days' provision, and that this latter proving sufficient for immediate wants, the child has been permitted to lie in the den, and possibly to suckle the female, and has so come to be recognised as a member of the family. Secondly, and, perhaps, more probably, it may be that the wolf's cubs having been stolen, the children have been carried off to fill their places, and have been fondled and suckled.

There is one curious point common to all the stories, and that is

that all the children appear to have been of the same sex—namely, boys. There is no record, I believe, of a wolf-reared girl.

I am fully aware that much has been written in ridicule of the subject. Not very long ago I had an opportunity of asking an eminent and well-known surgeon, who formerly resided in Oude, what he thought of these stories, and his reply was, "I don't believe one of them."

According to the law of averages, the next few years ought to produce a case, and it is to be hoped that should one occur, it may be made the subject of the very strictest inquiry by a joint committee of judicial and medical officers. Till such an event happens, I trust that my readers will at least recognise the justice of suspending judgment.

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